CREATING CHRISTIAN IDENTITIES: CRUSADERS AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN THE LEVANT, 1097-1187

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Abstract

When Pope Urban II urged Frankish aristocrats to liberate Jerusalem from the Turks in 1096, he envisioned the participants in the First Crusade co-operating with eastern Christians and helping to re-establish the Byzantine Empire in the Near East. What happened was otherwise. The First Crusade instead founded Latin principalities, established a Catholic hierarchy, and denied Byzantine sovereignty over the areas conquered. Despite the contradiction of Urban's original ideals, the crusaders settled in parts of the Holy Land where local Christians formed the majority of the population, often living, worshipping and fighting side-by-side. My dissertation, the first to address this subject directly, reinterprets the relationships among different Christian communities in the crusader era, and argues that they played a crucial role in the establishment and survival of the crusader principalities. I pay close attention to local Christian sources, particularly those in Armenian and Syriac, and in doing so, recover a complex world of competing loyalties and antagonisms that allowed co-existence, co-operation and conflict to operate simultaneously. I argue that both Frankish settlers and local Christian communities manipulated conflicts and alliances among different ethnic and religious groups for their own benefit. Depending on whether they were appealing to their brethren outside the Latin east, to their powerful Byzantine neighbors, or struggling with internal divisions, Franks and local Christians could construct the other as enemy, ally, neighbor or foreigner. The later twelfth century saw a concerted effort to unify the separated churches of the eastern Mediterranean. Negotiations between Latins, Byzantines, Armenians and Jacobites led different Christian communities to consider

the similarities and differences of their respective faiths. Treatises and accounts from each of the different communities have survived, allowing the historian not only to understand local perceptions of western Christian and vice versa, but also to map the emerging faultlines within local Christian communities concerning compromise and exchange with Catholicism, an issue which has continued to the present day.

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Introduction

In 1101, the priest Fulcher sat in a room somewhere in the half-empty city of Jerusalem, committing to parchment his memories of the extraordinary events that brought him from his home in Chartres across the breadth of Christendom to the alien lands of Syria and Palestine. Much of Fulcher's chronicle recounted the military triumphs and perils the crusader army faced as it marched across the Turkish lands of Anatolia and Syria, but his narrative of conflict was punctuated by moments when local Christian inhabitants welcomed the crusaders with praise and thanksgiving. As the crusading armies were cautiously approaching Jerusalem in June, 1099,

> one hundred of the better knights mounted their horses, and passing at daybreak close to Jerusalem, hurried to Bethlehem. Tancred was one of them and Baldwin another. When the Christians who dwelt there, Greeks and Syrians, discovered the Franks had arrived, they were completely overcome with joy . . . immediately [they] took up crosses and banners and went out to meet them, weeping and devoutly singing. . . . Our men after they had made devout supplication to God in the Basilica of the Blessed Mary, and after they had visited the place where Christ was born and given the kiss of peace to the Syrians, went back in haste towards the Holy City, Jerusalem.[1]

Despite the lyrical language of this passage, Fulcher did not accompany the knights in their foray into Bethlehem; at the time, he was actually several hundred miles to the north in

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[1] "nocte vero sequenti C milites de probioribus conscenderunt equos, qui aurora clarescente prope Iherusalem transeuntes usque Bethleem properaverunt: de quibus erat Tancredus unus, alter vero Balduinus. quod cum Christiani, qui inibi conversabantur, comprerirent, Graeci videlicet et Syri, Francos illuc advenisse, gravisi sunt gaudio magno valde. ignorabant tamen primitus quae gens essent, putantes eos vel Turcos vel Arabes esse. sed cum aperte propius eos intuerentur et eos non dubitarent esse Francos, statim gaudenter crucibus adsumptis et textis, obviam flendo et pie cantando processerunt eis:flendo, quoniam metuebant ne tantillum gentis a multitudine tanta paganorum, quos in patria esse sciebant, facillime quandoque occiderentur; cantando, quoniam congratulabantur eis quos diu desideraverant esse venturos, quos Christianismum, a nefandis tamdiu pessumdatum, in honorem debitum et pristinum revelare sentiebant. facta autem ilico in basilica beatae Mariae supplicatione ad Deum devota, cum locum in quo Chritus natus fuit visitassent, dato Syris osculo pacifico , ad urbem sanctam Iherusalem celeriter regressi sunt." Fulcher Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer, (Heidelberg: Carl

Edessa. His own experiences there, together with his conversations with those who participated, led him to believe that this was how local Christians must have welcomed the crusaders. As the Franks conquered more of the Holy Land, and settled on the captured lands, these intersections became less the momentary meetings of settled communities and armies on the move, and more the daily personal contacts of two communities living side-by-side. Fulcher in a famous passage described the transformation of crusaders from soldiers into settlers who identified with their new home:

> for we who were Occidentals have now become Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank has in this land been made into a Galilean or a Palestinian. He who was of Rheims or Chartres has now become a citizen of Tyre or Antioch . . . Some have taken wives not only of their own people but Syrians and Armenians or even Saracens who have obtained the grace of baptism. One has his father-in-law as well as his daughter-in-law living with him . . .[2]

This passage is perhaps one of the most quoted in crusader literature, yet its full force is often blunted by current historiography of the Latin East which asserts that the Franks isolated themselves from the local population, and recreated in Palestine and Syria the society and culture they had left at home. Yet considerable evidence undermines this model. Field surveys and archaeological excavations in Israel and the West Bank have shown that the Franks settled in areas where Christian communities predominated. As Fulcher pointed out, intermarriage was common. Local Christians furnished a significant portion of the foot soldiers and even some of the mounted knights for the armies of the Frankish principalities.

Winters Universitätbuchhandlung, 1913), I, 25, pp. 278-80; translated in *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, tr. Frances Rita Ryan, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), pp. 115-6.

[2] "nam qui fuimus Occidentales, nunc facti sumus Orientales, qui fuit Romanus aut Francus, hac in terra factus est Galileus aut Palaestinus. qui fuit Remensisaut Carnotensis, nunc efficitur Tyrius vel Antiochenus. iam obliti sumus nativitatis nostrae loca, iam nobis pluribus vel sunt ignota vel etiam inaudita. hic iam possdet domos proprias et familias quasi iure paterno et hereditario, ille vero iam duxit uxorem non tantum compatriotam, sed et Syram aut Armenam et interdum Saracenam, baptismi autem gratiam adeptam. alius habet apud se tam socerum quam nurum seu generum sive privignum necne vitricum." Fulcher, *Historia*, III, 37, p. Ryan, *History*, p. 271.

In churches, shrines and monasteries, Latins, Greeks, Armenians and Syrians worshipped side-by-side, consulted each other's priests, and prayed to the same saints.

Modern scholars have concluded that Franks made few distinctions between different local communities. Joshua Prawer, in his article "Social Classes in the Crusader States: the 'Minorities,'" argued, "the term [minority] as applied to the crusader states covers many groups quite varied in culture, although the conquerors paid little attention to distinctions among them, looking upon the entire non-Frankish population of whatever kind as a single entity."[3] While Prawer acknowledged that in practice the Franks did indeed make distinctions, the experiences of different minorities was similar enough to be encompassed within the same article. This study takes a different approach. By concentrating on local Christian sources in Armenian and Syriac, I recover a world of competing loyalties and antagonism, where each community, whether local or immigrant, could and did construct the other as enemy or ally, friend or foreigner. Exploration of the fluid boundary between different Christian communities illuminates the construction of identity in a different way than examining Christian-Jewish or Jewish-Muslim interactions. Furthermore, an incorporation of these relationships into the standard narrative of the history of the Latin states produces a picture of Frankish society and culture that was rooted in its local human and physical surroundings more than previously suggested. Yet Frankish relations with local Christians have not received the full attention of any scholar. This study is the first modern consideration of the subject covering all of the Latin East throughout the whole of the twelfth century.

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[3] Joshua Prawer, "Social Classes in the Crusader States: the 'Minorities,'" in *A History of the Crusades*, ed Kenneth M. Setton, vol. V, *The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard, (Madison University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 59.

Historiographical Models of the Latin East[4]

Historians have not always ignored the Levantine contribution to the establishment of the Frankish states of the Near East. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly among French historians, the subject excited considerable interest. In the introduction to his 1883 book entitled *Les colonies franques en Syrie aux XIIme et XIIme siècles*, Emmanuel Rey announced his intention to examine "the causes which favored their [the crusaders'] establishment and development in the midst of a population of Orientals of all races, Syrians, Greeks and Armenians, [which] appears to me a new subject destined to fill one of lacunas in the history of the crusades."[5] The title of Rey's book gave the Frankish settlements of the Levant a new title—that of 'colony,' which was intended to link the Latin principalities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to France's colonial ambitions in Syria in the late nineteenth century. Rey asserted that the numerous offspring of mixed marriages, called *poulains* in Frankish sources, identified themselves with the local traditions and values of their indigenous mothers rather than with any aspect of their Frankish fathers.[6] Throughout his account, Rey emphasized the interactions of Franks with local Christians, whether in the realm of business, war or religion. Interest in the local Christian influence on the crusaders was not limited to the French. Lieutenant-Colonel Claude Conder's work, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099 to 1291 A. D.*, showed much the same interest in understanding Frankish society within the context of local Christian communities.[7] Condor

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[4] For a broad over view of crusader historiography, see Giles Constable, "The Historiography of the Crusades," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, (Washington Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2001), pp. 1-22.

[5] Emmanuel Rey, *Les colonies franques en Syrie aux XIIme et XIIme siècles*, (Paris Alphonse Picard, 1883), p. v.

[6] Rey, *Les colonies franques*, p. 61.

[7] Condor does note that "the degeneracy of later generations is traced to marriage with native women." Claude Condor, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1099 to 1291 A.D.*, (London Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1897), p. 181.

led the Survey of Western Palestine in the late nineteenth century, which documented archaeological and historical sites from the Biblical through the Ottoman periods, and thus saw the Franks within the context of Middle Eastern history, rather than through the lens of medieval Europe. The first American crusader historian, Dana Carleton Munro, agreed with the conclusions of the French school: "a study of the administration and laws shows the care the Franks took to win the goodwill of the natives."[8]

The rejection of this tradition was stimulated by two causes: an increased emphasis on Christian-Muslim conflict, and a growing sense of the influence of French colonialism on crusader history. The English historian William Stevenson, writing soon after Condor, enunciated this new view of the Latin East. For Stevenson, the cultural and social history of the Frankish settlements was secondary to the crusades proper; for him, "the story is one of a contest between Moslems and Latins."[9] But it was post-World War II historians, beginning with R. C. Smail, that nailed shut the coffin on the French school of thought. Smail suggested that Frankish society segregated Europeans from native Arabs, Syrians and Armenians, and that little significant cultural or social exchange existed between the Frankish conquerors and local populations. Furthermore, he argued that pre-war French historians such as Rey saw an integrated society where there was none in an attempt to justify colonial regimes in the Near East, particularly the French domination of Syria and Lebanon.[10] The amity of the first French colonies in the Near East (the crusader principalities) showed the natural bond between the French and the Levant, and suggested that new French colonies would similarly flourish.

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[8] Dana Carleton Munro, *The Kingdom of the Crusaders*, (New York D. Appleton-Century Co. 1935 reprinted Port Washington, N. Y. Kennikat Press, 1966), p. 107.

[9] William Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1907). p. 5.

[10] R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097-1193)*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1956). pp. 40-57.

The segregationist historiographical position that Smail advocated has remained the dominant one among crusader historians to the present day. Steven Runciman's epic *History of the Crusades,* written from his eastern perspective as a Byzantinist, concluded that "when they [the crusaders] set themselves up in the East they treated their Christian subjects no better than the Caliph had done before them. Indeed, they were sterner, for they interfered in the religious practices of the local churches."[11] As historians such as Joshua Prawer and Jonathan Riley-Smith turned their attention to the social, legal and political structures of the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem, a consensus emerged that depicted the Frankish society as largely urban and isolated from the local population by segregated cities, separate law courts and different religious traditions. Joshua Prawer's 1972 book, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages,* revived Rey's characterization of the Frankish settlements as colonies; for Prawer, however, these 'colonies' contained none of Rey's rose-tinted imperialist characteristics, and he even used the term 'apartheid' to describe its judicial and legal systems.[12] In Prawer's work, the 'segregationalist' model reached its fullest and most explicit development. For him, the main explanation for the lack of integration was economic. The Franks depended on a subjugated and disenfranchised local population to finance their occupation, and would do nothing to jeopardize those economic interests. Nor has interest or adherence to this approach diminished; Prawer's book was republished in 2001, and other recent studies on the position of the local population have emphasized their antipathy towards the Franks. Carole Hillenbrand's encyclopedic work revealed the variety of Muslim responses to the crusaders, and concluded that Islamic resentment, suspicion and

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[11] Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades.* (Cambridge Cambridge University Press. 1951). Vol. III, p. 474.

[12] Joshua Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages,* (New York Praeger, 1972), p. 524.

ultimate rejection of the Franks outweighed other reactions.[13] Prawer also studied the position of Jewish communities under Frankish rule, and likewise saw a community, which, while inevitably impacted by the political and military events of the age, remained little affected by interactions with Franks or other local communities.[14]

While the work of Smail and his historiographic heirs may well have been necessary to correct the colonialist agenda in older French crusade historians, their own vision of the Levant reflected contemporary events in Israel and Palestine. The Zionism that founded Israel was too easily seen as a parallel to the crusades, and the failure of Israel to create an integrated society among its Jewish and Palestinian citizens and subjects has given historians a model of never-ending conflict between immigrants and locals that could easily be applied to Israel's twelfth-century counterpart.

The segregationalist model has proved an attractive one for historians of medieval Europe, who tend to view the Frankish principalities as the easternmost outpost of Latin Christendom. In Robert Bartlett's *The Making of Europe,* the Latin East was notable for the transplantation of western European social and political structures into a Levantine setting. Interactions with local communities resulted in the formulation of separate systems of law and a heightened insistence on the uniformity of European society, paralleling similar developments in Spain, Ireland, and eastern Europe. Thus the experiences on the frontiers were brought back to the center and helped formulate a common European identity. The segregationist model thus feeds into a larger picture of European development.

In the last few years, however, historians and archaeologists have begun to challenge this model. Ronnie Ellenblum introduced new archaeological material into the debate in his

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[13] Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives,* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

[14] Joshua Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

1998 book, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.* He argued that the Franks settled in areas of Palestine that had a majority of local Christian communities, and developed a society "led by the Frankish minority and by classes of local Christians (Armenians, Greeks, and, on rare occasions, also Syrians) which could be called the aristocracy."[15] Ellenblum's book was critical for pioneering a new approach. However, his work was limited to sites within the borders of modern-day Israel and the West Bank by practical considerations. We can only hope that similar archaeological work can be carried out in Lebanon, Syria and Turkey. My dissertation addresses the textual sources that complement Ellenblum's archaeological material.

Discussion of the relationship of local Christian communities with the Franks must also be placed within the historiography of medieval ethnic conflict. Recent historiographic work over the last twenty years has sought to understand the roots of European persecution of minorities, particularly the Jews.[16] David Nirenberg has persuasively argued, however, that the teleological ends of such investigations distort the medieval *milieu* and render those who persecute as automatons who passively receive and enact beliefs created elsewhere. Nirenberg's work situates episodes of violence within specific cultural and historical contexts, finding that violence between communities, in his case between Christians and Jews in fourteenth-century Spain and France, was not merely the outburst of irrational hatreds, but was the expression and manipulation of local beliefs and concerns.

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[15] Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem,* Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1998) p. 37. Ellenblum may well have been inspired by the new wave of 'post-Zionism' historiography in Israel.

[16] Robert Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society Power and Deviance in western Europe, 950-1250,* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

Furthermore, Nirenberg argued that the modern dichotomy between "tolerance" and "intolerance" fails to account for the centrality of conflict for constructing social relations. [17]

My work in many ways explores the concept of "communities of violence" without the violence. That is, what can we learn from a society which chooses not to construct images of difference despite clear distinctions between communities? The Franks who settled in the Levant confronted communities, which while Christian, came from different cultural, linguistic and even religious backgrounds from themselves. Equally, local Christian communities had a variety of choices of how to interpret the arrival of a large group of western Christians who proceeded to establish themselves as rulers over Christian, Muslim and Jew alike. My work shows how quickly both Franks and local Christians learned about each other and placed the other within a cultural framework understandable for their own communities. In this way, various historical strategies were used within each community, but none of these became a standard trope widely used. Communities continued to create images of each other that responded to contemporary and ever-changing situations. What thus developed was a practice of 'toleration' where religious and political leaders had a vested interest in minimizing difference. 'Tough tolerance,' as we might call it, was not the equivalent of modern concepts of multiculturalism. Episodes of conflict, violence and oppression occurred frequently, yet were directed at specific groups within local communities, usually elites, in a way that used intercommunal factionalism to drain away the sense of threat to the larger community. Whereas in Nirenberg's fourteenth-century Spanish world each act of violence was loaded with symbolic meaning, in the Latin principalities of the Levant, Franks and local Christians instead steadfastly refused to allow any lasting

[17] David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

symbolic significance to accumulate around incidences of conflict, permitting such events only momentary fervor.

Sources

My study rests on three bodies of primary sources—Armenian and Jacobite chronicles, Latin charters and a collection of theological treatises and discussions. One of the primary difficulties that arises in discussing the Latin east comprehensively, however, is the disparity between these sources and their geographic distribution. The Armenian and Jacobite sources, with only a few exceptions, concentrate on northern Syria, where their populations were the largest. Conversely, the surviving Latin documents focus largely on the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the most prestigious of the four Frankish principalities. Short of the unlikely discovery of a large unnoticed archive somewhere in the libraries of Europe or the Middle East, this disparity of evidence is a hurdle that cannot be ignored or sophistically smoothed over. There are, however, ways to lessen the gap. Armenian and Jacobite sources actually give contrasting and even conflicting interpretations of twelfth-century history. This diversity of opinion has gone largely unexplored. The chronicles of Matthew of Edessa, the anonymous chronicle of 1234, and the chronicle of Michael the Syrian have been generally used to confirm or challenge various historical events in constructing the accepted political and military narrative of the Frankish principalities of Palestine and Syria. By exploring the narrative strategies of each author and their contrasting visions of the Frankish position and power, we uncover more than a series of battles, revolts, victories and defeats. More significantly, we find internal debates within local Christian communities over their political and cultural relationship with the Franks.

To explore the interactions of Franks and local Christians in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, a different tactic must be used. Except for a few colophons, no local Christian sources survive from the area and virtually all the historical material has been produced by the Franks. Instead of relying on the traditional chronicle accounts, my dissertation turns to charters, in which local Christians appear with some frequency, and to archaeological and architectural evidence. The charter evidence largely avoids the pitfalls of the Latin chronicles, which were generally directed towards audiences in western Europe, and thus crafted an image of the Latin East that had little place for local populations except as enemies or grateful liberated townspeople. While the charters have their own inherent bias due to their European formal origin, thus problematizing their meaning in an entirely different cultural world, the scribes and creators of the documents had no particular desire to obscure or eliminate local Christians from their texts. Archaeological and architectural material is notoriously difficult to use to explicate any sort of cultural interaction, and its appearance in my dissertation is no claim to expertise in either area. For the purposes of my argument, such material serves to illustrate other ways of thinking about the issue, but I recognize the limitations of the material and the questions it can answer.

One of the surprising difficulties that has been a constant issue throughout my dissertation has been one of nomenclature. The quandary of deciding what to call various groups of Christians is indicative of the inherent complexity of their relations with each other. My dissertation focuses on four Christian groups, two of which are easy enough to name. The Armenians constitute a distinct political and ecclesiastical group, distinguished by their own language, liturgical traditions and even historiographic self-representation—that is, a considerable body of medieval Armenian texts survive that tell us who they defined themselves to be. Similarly easy are the Latins, though a few more terms can be used to

describe them. Latin refers to their preference for writing in that language, particularly in the twelfth century, and also to their use of Latin as a liturgical language. I restrict the use of 'crusader' to individuals or groups of individuals who had taken a crusader vow and had not yet fulfilled it. Perhaps the most common term to use for this group is that of 'Frank,' a general term used in Latin, Arabic, Armenian and Syriac sources to describe people from western Europe, whether they were from Iceland, Hungary, Italy or England. 'Frank' and 'Latin' are thus interchangeable, while 'crusader' retains a specific meaning.

The big problem comes in trying to describe the two autochthonic Christian communities of Syria and Palestine. The first community is commonly called 'Orthodox' because they remained in communion with the imperial church of Constantinople, that is, the Greek Orthodox Church. 'Orthodox,' however, is a Greek word meaning 'believing correctly' and therefore is claimed as a title by most Christian communities. Nor can 'Greek' be used as they employed Greek neither as a spoken nor as a liturgical language. Theological descriptors are equally useless; 'Chalcedonian' is not only vague but also awkward. I have chosen to use the term 'Melkite,' which has its own problems. The word is derived from Syriac sources which derided those who remained loyal to the church of Constantinople as 'the king's men,' or Melkites, from the Syrian word 'melk' meaning king. It thus has polemical overtones, which I do not endorse or intend. It is not generally applicable to Byzantine Christians within the borders of the Byzantine empire, and thus creates something of an artificial division between Christian groups which were, in fact, in communion. However, the liturgical, cultural and geographical differences between Melkites and Byzantine Christians give this separation some validity. Further complication arises in the existence of a church called the 'Greek Melkite Church,' which is a uniate Catholic

community. As this church was established only in the eighteenth century, I trust that my readers will not confuse it with the subjects of my study.

For the other indigenous Christian group I have chosen the similar term of 'Jacobite.' It too has a polemical tone, as it derives from Jacob Baradaios, who began ordaining bishops independently of the Melkite church in the sixth century. The term has a similar tone to calling Anglicans 'Henricians' in commemoration of Henry VIII's establishment of that church. The name the Jacobites use for themselves, 'Syrian Orthodox,' is, for reasons discussed above, inappropriate. Although their theology is often defined as 'monophysite,' that is belief in the single nature of Christ, I have found this an inconvenient term because the definition of Christ's nature continued to be debated in the twelfth century. Thus to have 'monophysites' discussing whether Christ had one nature or two appears to be an unfortunate paradoxical tautology.

Structure of the Study

My work, like Alcibaides' first humans, is divided into two parts, which give little satisfaction unless united. The first half focuses on northern Syria, while the second half examines Palestine in the later twelfth century. Northern Syria was of particular importance for a number of reasons. First, it was where crusaders and local Christians first encountered each other, and I argue Frankish attitudes towards local Christian communities throughout the Levant were predicated on experiences in Syria. Second, several rich sources in Armenian and Syriac survive from this area, giving the historian a rare opportunity to explore local Christian perceptions of the Franks and their political power. Chapter 1 provides the reader a sense of the Syrian world into which the crusaders stepped. The events of the eleventh century encouraged local Christians to view the crusaders in a variety

of roles: as mercenaries, as allies of the Greeks, and as millennial heroes avenging Christianity. Chapters 2 and 3 explore the reactions of Latins, Armenians and Jacobites as the Frankish county of Edessa was established. With chapter 4 the focus switches to Palestine, where I demonstrate the role shrines, churches and monasteries played as centers of interaction between the laity of different Christian communities. Chapter 5 examines the social and juridical status of local Christians in the Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem. I argue that thirteenth-century sources have been misapplied to the twelfth century, creating a distorted picture that emphasized segregation, while twelfth century evidence suggests the opposite. Chapter 6 concludes this investigation of 'tough tolerance' by focusing on the negotiations to unify the churches that took place in the 1160's and 1170's. These negotiations, which would appear to herald a new world of Christian amity, had the paradoxical effect of emphasizing the differences between Christian communities, a trend that signaled the gradual disappearance of 'tough tolerance.'

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Chapter 1

Anticipating the First Crusade

Armenians in northern Syria and Cilicia in the Eleventh Century

For most of human history, eclipses and earthquakes have been perceived as profoundly unnatural events. The sun should never disappear while still in the sky, and the earth, on which we anchor our physical and metaphorical stability, should remain solid and immovable. An eclipse or an earthquake is a clear sign that something has thrown the natural order of the universe off balance, undermined the foundations of heaven and earth. According to the Gospels, the death of Jesus Christ on the cross at Calvary sent tremors through the Holy Land and turned the sun black. When the Armenian communities of the Kingdom of Ani witnessed two similar unnatural events concurrently in 1037, they knew that something beyond the understanding of ordinary men had occurred. The *katholikos* Petros, the leader of the Armenian church, and King Hovhannes of Ani sought to understand the significance of these omens by sending an embassy of eminent men to consult Hovhannes Kozern, a venerable *vardapet* whose wisdom and piety wreathed him with the stature of an Old Testament prophet. When the emissaries from the king and *katholikos* arrived at the hermit's cell, they found the holy man prostrate in prayer, bathed in tears and unable to speak. After waiting several hours, the priest's strenuous grief abated, and he explained to his terrified audience the horrific vision he had received, revealing what the ominous portents presaged. Hovhannes told his anxious visitors that soon multiple calamities would strike the Armenians. Christians would turn away from the Church,

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blaspheming and ignoring God's law, neglecting to fast and forgetting to pray. Even the patriarchs and the priests would abandon their altars, and the princes and kings would forget their obligations to their peoples and to the Church, growing cruel and capricious in their use of their God-given authority. Parents and children would turn against each other, and harlots and whoremongers would lead the people. For, the priest warned, Satan had been released from the confinement in which Christ's crucifixion had placed him, and the final days were at hand. With the strength of Satan behind them, a cursed people would come and burn and loot the lands of the Armenians, and kill their families, level their cities and desecrate their churches. But these apocalyptic terrors would have an end, for God would send someone to deliver them from their oppressors, and by inference, from their sins. "The valiant nation called the Franks will rise up; with a great number of troops they will capture the holy city of Jerusalem, and the Holy Sepulcher, which contained God, will be freed from bondage."[1] Yet the crusaders were only the harbingers of Christian renewal, for then "the Roman Emperor[2] will be awakened as if from a sleep, and like an eagle, rapidly will come against the Persians[3] with a very great army, as numerous as the sands of the seashore. He will march forth like a burning fire, and all creatures will tremble in fear of him."[4] The

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[1] "*Եւ յայնժամ ելցեն ազգն արիականք, որք են Փռանգք, եւ բազմութեամբ զօրաք զսուրբ քաղաքն Երուսաղէմ, եւ ազատի ի գերութենէն սուրբ գերեզմանն Աստուածընկալ:*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi [Matthew of Edessa], *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, ed. Mambre Melik-Adamyan and Nerses Ter-Mik'ayelyan. (Erevan, 1991), pp. 74—84. Hereafter as Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*. Translated in Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusade*, tr. Ara Edmond Dostourian, (Lanham: University Press of America, 1993), pp. 56-60. Hereafter as Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*.

[2] Armenian chronicles usually use the word "*Հռոմ*" (hrom) and its adjectives to refer to the Byzantines, but Matthew also applied it to Latins, as the word signifies "Rome" and can thus describe either group. In this context, Matthew is referring the Byzantine Emperor.

[3] The Turks are often referred to as Persians in Armenian sources.

[4] "*Յայնժամ որպէս ի քնոյ զարթուցեալ լինի թագաւորն եւ Հասանէ որպէս զարծիւ ի վերայ զօրացն Պարսից աճապին բազմութեամբ որպէս զաւազ առ եզր ծովուն. եւ գայ որպէս զՀուր բորբոքեալ, եւ յահէ նորա դողան մինչայն արարածք, եւ Պարսիկք եւ ամենայն զօրք այլազգեացն վրացաւէն զփախուստ իւրեանց յայնկոյս մեծ գետոյն Ջահունեաց:*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 82; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 60.

Roman Emperor would utterly defeat the Persians and all of the Muslim lands would once against be under his rule.

When Matthew of Edessa recorded this prophecy in his chronicle, he had the advantage of having already witnessed the arrival of the crusaders in Syria in 1098 and heard of their capture of the holy city of Jerusalem in 1099. This cataclysmic vision expressed, not the premonitions of the *vardapet* Hovhannes, but the political fence that the Armenian communities of Cilicia and the Levant straddled in the twelfth century. Often allied with the Frankish states of the Levant against the Byzantines, these communities still envisioned themselves to be part of the united world of Late Antiquity, where all Christians were under one emperor and shared a common faith. The Franks may have conquered Jerusalem with God's help, but their political power in the Near East was a temporary substitute for the return of true orthodoxy to all Christians and the reconstitution of the Roman Empire. This Armenian view, shows both how quickly Armenians integrated the crusaders into their cosmological expectations, and how much they remained a part of a Byzantine world.

Too often histories of the Frankish principalities of the Levant begin with the Council of Clermont, and glide easily into the establishment of the Frankish states of the Levant. The Crusaders appear in the Levant in seemingly hermetically-sealed historical bubbles, in which they can roll across the Levantine landscape untouched by Near Eastern past or peoples. The eleventh-century history of Byzantium, Armenia and the Near East is just as important for understanding the First Crusade and its results as the contemporary events in western Europe. The impact local communities and conditions had on the crusaders has been largely ignored by historians of all fields. Historians of the Near East brush aside the Frankish settlement of the Levant as epiphenomenal, and have focused almost exclusively on Islamic history, ignoring local Christian populations. Medieval

historians view the Latin East solely from the perspective of the Frankish settlers, effectively annexing Syria and Palestine as the eastern edge of Europe. This chapter will examine Syria before the arrival of the crusaders, and suggest that the Franks adapted themselves to Levantine realities that had long existed, rather than imposing western European culture and norms on a passive native population.

The Early History of Armenia

As Hovhannes Kozern's prophecy suggested, Armenians had long lived in a world of complex cultural and political loyalties. As the northern-most territory linking the eastern Roman empire and the Persian kingdom, Armenians could sometimes use the near-continuous Roman-Persian conflicts of antiquity to their own advantage, but too often had little role in the fate of their communities. Armenians shared the Hellenistic culture of the Mediterranean as well as the Indo-Iranian traditions of the Persian empire. The early literature of the Armenians depicts an aristocratic Iranian world of hunts and banquets,[5] and the ruling dynasty of Armenia in antiquity was a junior branch of the Parthian Arsacid royal family. The Mediterranean world's influence on Armenia grew in the first century B.C. when Tigranes the Great built an Armenian empire stretching into Syria, Mesopotamia, and Cappadocia. His capital, Tigranocerta, had a Greek theatre for the performance of plays, and the king encouraged Greek philosophers to settle in his capital, as intellectual adornment to match the city's Hellenistic architecture.[6] King Tiridates III converted to Christianity in the early fourth century, encouraging the Christianization of Armenia that legendarily began

[5] P'awstos Buzand, *Epic Histories*, tr. Nina Garsoïan, (Camridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 51-55.

[6] Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), p. 27.

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with the apostle Bartholomew. Local cults and imported Zoroasterianism competed for a time, but by the sixth century, Armenian identity had become linked to Christianity.

Dismembering Armenia

The escalation of Roman-Persian conflict in the later fourth century severed many of Armenia's contacts with the Roman world. Persian armies devastated Armenia in 363 following the disastrous peace treaty signed with the Persian empire after the death of the Roman Emperor Julian on the Roman-Persian frontier. The Persian armies razed many of the cities in Greater Armenia and the Armenian king Arsak II was deported to Persia, where he committed suicide. In 387, Emperor Theodosius I and the Sassanian King of Kings Shapur III signed a treaty that formally divided Armenia between the two empires, an event that René Grousset compared to the signing of the Treaty of Verdun for the extraordinary duration of its effects.[7] Armenian bishops attended the first ecumenical councils of the Christian Church, but were missing from the Council of Chalcedon—most of the clergy and episcopate were involved in a rebellion against the Persians, who were attempting to impose Zoroasterianism on their half of Armenia. The Armenian forces were crushed on the plains of Avarayr (north of Lake Urmia in what is now northwest Iran) on May 26, 451, and many of the noble *naxarar*[8] families were wiped out.[9] As a result, the Armenian church grew increasingly isolated from the churches of the Roman and Byzantine world, a process amplified by the influence of Syriac monophysite thought on Armenian theology. The Armenian church relied on the great Greek theologians of the fourth and early fifth

[7] René Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie, des origines à 1071*, (Paris: Payot, 1947), pp. 163-6.

[8] *Naxarar* is the Armenian word for the dynastic noble families who led Armenia. Largely independent of each other and the kingship, they were the rulers of medieval Armenia.

[9] Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, p. 31. Also see Aram Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia*, tr. Nina G. Garsoïan, (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1976).

centuries—Gregory of Nyssa, Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom and others—as the foundation for theological inquiry. The fourth century thus remained in some ways the golden era in Armenian memory, when kings converted to Christianity, and inspired theologians taught the true faith to the entire Christian world.

Armenia: 7th-9th centuries

The rapid expansion of the Arab empire in the seventh century soon led the Caliph's armies into Armenian lands, and Baghdad replaced Ctesiphon as Constantinople's competitor for influence over Armenia. The domination of Armenia by the Umayyad Caliphate in the seventh century had relatively little impact on local political structures. Aristocratic families preserved their lands, the right to tax, and the right to bear arms. The invasion of Armenia by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II at the end of the seventh century signaled an age of crisis for Armenia and its *naxarar* leaders. Byzantine, Khazar and finally Arab armies ravaged the countryside, each empire viewing Armenia as conquered enemy land. After the final Arab reconquest, the Caliph revoked Armenia's self-governing status and sent an Arab governor to rule first from Dwin and then from Partaw, and Arab troops were garrisoned in several Armenian cities. The tolerance that had existed under the Ummayyads vanished beneath the weight of a lachrymose catalogue of *naxarar* revolts, executions, defeats, exiles and devastation throughout the eighth century, leading to the extinction of many *naxarar* families and the repopulation of many areas with Arab colonists. Armenians regained much of their political independence in the ninth century, as the influence of the Abbasid caliphate declined and Byzantine forces grew stronger. Ašot I Bagratuni received the title "prince of princes" from Caliph Mutawakkil in 861, and when the *Katholikos* George II crowned Ašot I king in 884, both the caliph and the Byzantine

emperor eagerly recognized his rank.[10] Political power grew increasingly concentrated in the hands of fewer *naxarar* families; the royal Bagratuni clan of Ani and the Artsruni dynasty of Vaspurakan became particularly influential.[11]

The Tenth Century Revival

The century before the arrival of the First Crusade brought stunning reversals to both the Armenian *naxarar* dynasties and Byzantium. At the beginning of the eleventh century, the Byzantine Empire possessed one of the most formidable armies fielded in the Near East since the eighth century. The Empire could look back on a century of military triumphs. Its armies had secured Asia Minor and Anatolia from the debilitating Arab raids of the previous centuries, and marched on the offensive, recapturing cities that had been lost to the empire since the initial Muslim conquest of the seventh century. The Byzantine domestic of the *scholai* John Kourkuas—one of many Byzantine leaders of Armenian descent in this era[12]--captured Melitene from its local Arab emir in 934, and demanded that the population either convert to Christianity or leave. The emirate of Kalikala (ancient Theodosioupolis, modern Ezerum) fell in 949, and its Arab population was replaced by Armenians and Greeks. The pace of conquest quickened between 955 and 972 as Nikephoras Phokas led the Byzantine armies. He conquered Samosata in 958, Germanikiea (Marash) in 962, and in the same year sacked Aleppo, the capital of the Hamandid emirate and Byzantium's main opponent in northern Syria. Campaigning in Cilicia in 964 and 965 brought Adana and Tarsus back into the Empire, and drove out the Arab population of Cilicia. Antioch, the ancient capital of Syria, succumbed to siege in 969, and the emir of

[10] Grousset, *L'Arménie*, p. 394.
[11] A. E. Redgate, *The Armenians*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), pp. 175-84.

Aleppo agreed to pay tribute to the empire. In 975, John Tzimiskes, another general and emperor of Armenian descent, led his armies as far south as the Beka'a Valley of Anti-Lebanon mountains of southern Syria.

The Byzantine military victories of the tenth century owed no small debt to the aid of Armenian soldiers, both within the Byzantine armies and as allied troops. The military families who led the Byzantine forces to victory as emperors and generals, such as the Phokades, Skleroi and Maleinoi, were often of Armenian ancestry or also had Armenian *naxarar* allies who contributed troops and supplies to their military campaigns.[13] As a result of this Byzantine-Armenian co-operation, many of the areas reconquered from the Arabs in the tenth century were settled by Armenians.

To Be or Not Be: Byzantine Annexation

This period of expansion ended under Basil II, who established a new eastern policy after his accession in 976. To curb the power of the military families that had led the empire to victory in the East but who now threatened his reign, Basil made peace with the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt. Byzantium thus gained a peaceful and somewhat demilitarized border in Asia Minor and Syria, allowing Byzantine military policy to be directed towards the Balkans. Basil encouraged *naxarar* clans to become imperial clients, rather than independent rulers allied with the Byzantine military clans he was attempting to crush. Basil II successfully annexed the vast territories of the Iberian prince David Bagratuni of Taiq after his death in 1021 as punishment for his support of the revolt of Bardas Skleros in 987. Threatened by

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[12] For other members of the Kourkuas family, see Jean-Claude Cheynet, *Pouvoir et Contestations à Byzance (963-1210)*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1990), p. 216.

[13] Peter Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*, (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, [1963], pp. 28-53; Alexander Kazhdan, "The Armenians in the Byzantine Ruling Class Predominantly in the Ninth Through the Twelfth Centuries," in *Medieval Armenian Culture*, eds. Thomas J. Samuelian and Michael E. Stone, (Chico: Scholars Press, 1984), pp. 439-451.

both the Byzantines and the beginnings of the Turkish incursions, Armenian leaders often found being an imperial client an appealing option. King Senek'erim surrendered his kingdom of Vaspurakan to Basil in 1021 in return for territories around Sebasteia and Caesarea (for geographic references, see the map in Figure 1). The next year King Hovhannes willed his kingdom of Ani to the Empire. His son Gagik II after brief resistance accepted lands in Cappadocia as compensation for his lost inheritance.

Reaction to the annexations among Armenians was varied. The anonymous continuator of Thomas Artsruni's chronicle of his clan seemed delighted by the annexation, saying

> At that time the imperial authority and the divinely-protected city of Constantinople were held by a God-loving and pious man named Basil . . . Then the survivors of the house of T'orgom[14] turned to the emperor of the Greeks as a son to his father. The Greeks, filled with divine love, had compassion for the appeal of their children, and summoned them from their various provinces. They gave them gifts, appointed them at the royal court, gave them great cities in exchange for their cities, and in return for their castles, impregnable fortresses and provinces, villages, estates and holy hermitages.[15]

Aristakes Lastivertc'i, an eleventh-century cleric, on the other hand, blamed both Armenian leaders and the Byzantines for disappearance of Armenian independence and the subsequent destruction wreaked upon the land by the Turks. Aristakes depicted in gory details the destruction and murder that Basil II's invasion of Taiq in 1021 visited upon the civilian

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[14] T'orgom was a mythical ancestor of the Armenians.

[15] "Եւ յայնժամ ունէր զկայսերական իշխանութիւնն զաստուածապահ քաղաքին զկոստանդնուպօլսի, այր ոմն աստուածասէր եւ բարեպաշտ վասիլ անուն կոչեցեալ, եւ ոչ էին ձեռնհաս Թագաւորն Յունաց ի վերայ աշխարհին Հայոց, այլ ինքեանք կամաւ ունէին զտէրութիւնս գաւառաց իւրաքանչիւր, եւ ոչ ժուժէին յարձակմանն այլազգեաց: Յայնժամ իբրեւ առ դիմեցին մնացորդք տանն Թորգոմայ առ Թագաւորն Յունաց. եւ նոքա լցեալ աստուածային սիրոմն յաղաչամն որդւոցն, եւ կոչեցեալ առ իւրեանս յիւրաքանչիւր եւ տային պարգեւս. եւ կարգեցին ի դուռն եւ տային փոխանակ քաղաքացն քաղաքս մեծամեծս եւ փոխանակ բերդիցն բերդս անմատոյցս եւ գաւառս եւ գեօղս եւ ագարակս եւ սուրբ մենաստանս." Tovma Vardapet Artsruni, *Patmut'iwn Tann Artsruneats'*, ed. K. P. Patkanov, (St. Petersburg, 1887), p. 307. Translated in Thomas Artsruni, *History of the House of the Artsrunik'*, tr. Robert W. Thomson, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985), p. 370.

population,[16] but also condemned Armenian princes such as Gagik of Ani for "lacking a mature spirit" and "timidity."[17] Matthew of Edessa, writing in the twelfth century under crusader rule, also blamed Armenia's rulers. In his account, Senek'erim of Vaspurakan surrendered his land to the Byzantines out of fear of the Turks; thus "Armenia was abandoned by its kings and princes."[18] These annexations capitalized on the divided nature of Armenian society, utilizing pro-Byzantine Armenian aristocrats and the threat or reality of military force to encourage and demand the integration of the Armenian lands with the empire.[19]

The Turkish Invasions

In the last quarter of the eleventh century, the Turkish armies of Toghrul Beg swept through the Middle East, conquering Armenia and Byzantine Anatolia. Raids began as early as 1029.[20] In 1059, the Turks sacked Sebasteia, the new home of the Artsruni dynasty of Vaspurakan. Caesarea, also ruled by the Artsrunis, was next to fall to the Turks in 1067. The Turkish emir sacked and burned Ani, a city grown large and rich on international

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[16] Aristakes de Lastivert, *Rècit des malheurs de la nation arménienne*, tr. Haïg Berbérian and Marius Canard, (Bruxelles: Èditions de *Byzantion*, 1973), pp. 13-15.

[17] Aristakes de Lastivert, p. 50.

[18] "... եւ անտերացան աշխարհն Հայոց ի թագաւորաց եւ յիշխանաց:" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 56; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 46.

[19] Scholars cite a number of reasons why Armenian kings gave their realms to the Empire. Sirarpie Der Nersessian believed that it was extorted through Byzantine military pressure, *The Armenians*, p. 39-40; but Michael Chamchiam, the Gibbon of Armenian history, suggested that it was in response to Turkish raids, *History of Armenia*, tr. Johannes Avdall, (Calcutta: Bishop's College Press, 1827), vol. 2, p. 115. Mark Whittow argues what has been described above, emphasizing the need to control the Armenian *naxarars* because of their alliance with Byzantine military families, rather than a desire to conquer Armenian territory. See Mark Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium, 600-1025*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 383-6.

[20] Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, tr. J. Jones-Williams, (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1968), pp. 67-8.

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trade,[21] in 1064. Many among the beleaguered Armenian populations of these cities fled south, to Syria and Cilicia.

Historians often described the establishment of Armenian lordships in northern Syria and Cilicia as a result of these Turkish invasions of the middle and late eleventh century.[22] Although the Armenian population of these areas was swelled by refugees fleeing the Turks, local populations of Armenians were already a potent political force.[23] Mukaddasi, an Arab geographer from Palestine, noted that the Jebel Lukkam, or the Amanus mountain range north of Antioch, was inhabited entirely by Armenians in his own day (985 A.D.)[24] The early eleventh-century Armenian historian Stephen of Taron noted the necessity of establishing Armenian bishoprics in cities such as Tarsus in Cilicia and Antioch, due to the numbers of Armenians who had migrated there before the Turkish invasion.[25]

The Byzantine army frequently used Armenian troops and communities to guard its borders with the Caliphate and lesser emirates. The tenth-century theme (military province) of Lykandos, between Caesarea and Melitene, was conquered from the Arabs by Mleh, an Armenian in Byzantine service, who resettled it largely with Armenians.[26] The ease with which Armenians entered Byzantine service and settled in Byzantine lands shows that

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[21] H. A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, tr. Nina G. Garsoïan, (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1965), pp. 149-150.

[22] Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, tr. John Gillingham, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 48.

[23] Claude Mutafian, *La Cilicie au carrefour des empires*, (Paris: Sociètè d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1988, vol I, pp. 364-5; Nicholas Oikonomides, "L'organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe—IXe siècles et le Taktikon de l'Escurial," in *Actes du XIVe Congrès international d'Ètudes Byzantines*, I, (Bucarest, 1974), vol. I, p. 285-302; G. Dédéyan, "Le rôle des arméniens en Syrie du nord pendant la reconquête byzantine (vers 945-1031)," in *Byzantinische Forschungen*, XXV (1999), pp. 248-84. See also, Gilbert Dagron, "Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'Orient byzantin a la fin du Xe et au XIe siècle: l'immigration syrienne," in *Travaux et Mémoires* 6 (1976), pp. 177-216.

[24] Mukaddasi, "Description of Syria, including Palestine," tr. Guy Le Strange, in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. III, (London, 1896), p. 91.

[25] Step'anos Taronetsi, *Patmut'iwn*, ed. M. Malchasian, (St. Petersburg, 1885), p. 258; translated in Étienne Asołik de Taròn, *Histoire Universelle*, tr. Frédéric Macler, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1917), pp. 141-2.

[26] Charanis, *Armenians*, p. 30.

cultural and political affinities drew many Armenians into a Byzantine orbit. Yet it is important not to over-emphasize the migration of Armenians into Byzantine territory, even during the Turkish invasions. Most of the Armenian population remained within the traditional borders of Armenia. It is only the royal *naxarar* families and their supporters who found it expedient to move to Cappadocia, Cilicia or Syria in the eleventh century, largely due to pre-established contact with Armenians already settled in these areas. Peasants, as one might expect, remained to suffer whatever might come under Seljuk rule.

Armenian Lordships of Syria

The collapse of Byzantine forces at the battle of Mantzikert in 1071 left most of Byzantine Anatolia undefended. The Turkish armies did not immediately have the interest of the strength to occupy the entire area, nor did the collapse of the Byzantine army mean the annihilation of all Byzantine defensive forces. Considerable numbers of Byzantine troops remained active, though not under a unified imperial command. Some remained loyal to Romanos IV Diogenes, the emperor defeated at Mantzikert, and fought a civil war against Michael VII Dukas, who supplanted Diogenes in Constantinople. Others turned to the defense of local areas around Melitene, Edessa, Antioch and Cilicia. In addition to these remnants of the Byzantine armies, local Armenian dynasts, who never entirely subordinated themselves or their troops to the Byzantine tagmatic or thematic armies, led their troops to defend and augment the territories they already ruled. These military warlords, Armenian aristocrats, and ambitious mercenaries vied for control over the cities and towns now stripped of Byzantine troops, even as Turkish warbands were sweeping further and further west towards Constantinople. The Christian communities of Syria grew accustomed to this

multiplicity of Christian forces, including Frankish mercenaries, fighting the Turks, creating a role into which the crusaders easily stepped.

Philaretos

One of the most successful of the warlords in this period was Philaretos. Much of his power derived from his position in the Byzantine army before its defeat at Mantzikert. The Byzantine historian Michael Attaliates records that Diogenes gave Philaretos "the greater part of the army of East" not long before Mantzikert;[27] Anna Komnena believed him to be *domesticos* of the East.[28] His troops followed him after the collapse of the Byzantine military power in the East, probably motivated by the lack of any other option as by support for Philaretos or the promise of booty and personal enrichment. Philaretos' family background is even less understood than his military career. Nicolas Adontz argued that he belonged to the Armeno-byzantine family of Brachamios,[29] the surname by which he is often referred to by Byzantine historians, but there is little to connect Philaretos to this family aside from the name, which was a common one among Armenians. In addition, Philaretos never availed himself of the advantages an Armenian or Byzantine aristocrat could use in his situation to extend his authority. But Philaretos turned out to be more than another warlord scheming for petty power in squabbles with other local powermongers. He sought to

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[27] Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. Immanuel Bekker, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1853), p. 132.

[28] Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, ed. and tr. Bernard Leib, (Paris: Société d'Édition «les belles lettres», 1937), VI, IX, vol. II, p. 64.

[29] Nicolas Adontz, *Etudes Armeno-Byzantines*, (Lisbon: Livararia Bertrand, 1965), pp. 147-152. Jean-Claude Cheynet also wishes to identify Philaretos with this aristocratic family, Jean-Claude Cheynet and Jean-François Vannier, *Études prosopographiques*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1986), pp. 57-74. For further discussion on Philaretos and his activities, see J. Laurent, "Des Grecs aux Croisés. Étude sur l'histoire d'Édesse entre 1071 et 1098," in *Études d'histoire arménienne*, (Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1971), pp. 61-128, first published in *Byzantion*, I (1924), pp. 367-449; also published in the same volume is Larent's article, "Byzance et Antioche sous le curopalate Philarète," pp. 148-159. This article was first published in *Revue des études arméniennes* 9 (1929), p. 61-72. More recent is C. J. Yarnley, "Philaretos: Armenian Bandit or Byzantine General?" *Revue des études arméniennes*, n. s. 9 (1972), pp. 331-353.

control a territory stretching from Antioch to Melitene, an area of considerable size, mercantile and military strength, and not coincidentally, the approximate area of the later Frankish principalities of Antioch and Edessa combined. Indeed, Philaretos' attempt to carve a principality of his own in this area facilitated the success of the crusaders. Philaretos absorbed other warlords into his forces, undermined and destroyed Armenian *naxarar* dynasties, and fragmented the power of the Armenian church through schism and persecution. Few leaders among the indigenous Christian communities in Syria survived his death, leaving a vast stretch of Christian territory leaderless immediately before the arrival of the First Crusade.

Philaretos and other Warlords

Asia Minor and northern Syria teemed with military forces of all kinds in the wake of the Seljuk invasion. Three political obstacles blocked Philaretos' domination of these areas. The least of these, surprisingly, were the Turks. The main body of the Seljuk forces, directed from Baghdad, perceived the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt as the main threat, and attacks upon the Byzantine Empire were largely secondary and often used solely to distract Turkish warbands who might otherwise be tempted to attack the Seljuk leadership.[30] Turkish forces aside, Philaretos had the largest number of troops in the area, but lacked the appropriate weaponry and supplies for the siege of cities. The existence of other Byzantine military leaders seeking to take advantage of the chaotic situation posed one possible threat to Philaretos' ambition, as did the *naxarar* dynasties that had strong roots among the Armenian populations of the area, and a longer tradition of leadership.

[30] Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp.29-30.

The Byzantine and Armenian sources record little conflict between Philaretos and other military leaders turned warlords. His forces included others who had military forces under their own command, and who could have used them to establish themselves as leaders. A Frankish mercenary, named Rmbarat in Matthew of Edessa, led a troop of westerners numbering eight hundred men who were considered one of the more potent military forces in the area. With troops of that number, Rmbarat (probably the Armenian version of the French name Raimbaud, or perhaps the Norman mercenary, Roussel de Bailleul) would have been able to carve out a principality for himself—Baldwin of Boulogne did so twenty years later with only two hundred horsemen—but instead Raimbaud chose to serve under Philaretos.[31] Perhaps he had served previously under Philaretos in the army, or perhaps he felt he could be more successful as part of a larger military force.

Basil Apocapes, another former Byzantine army officer, also chose to serve under Philaretos. Basil had even greater opportunities to rule independently than Raimbaud. His father, Abukab, had been an officer in the army of David Bagratuni of Taiq, an Armeno-Georgian prince. After David's death and the annexation of his land by the Byzantine empire, he served in the Byzantine army and was *dux* of Edessa in 1032-33.[32] His son Basil followed in his father's footsteps and served in the Byzantine army. He defended the city of Mantskert against the Turks in 1054-55,[33] and also served on the western frontier, fighting the Uzes near the Danube.[34] Philaretos sent Basil to seize Edessa from Leon, who ruled the city in the name of the Byzantine Emperor. He besieged the city for six months until the citizens killed Leon themselves and invited Basil in to rule. Matthew of Edessa praised him

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[31] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 224; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 138.
[32] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 72; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 55.
[33] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 130; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 87.
[34] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, pp. 164-6; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 105-6. This text suggests that Abukab was still *dux* of Edessa, or at least still living there, in 1065-66, which seems unlikely but not impossible. If so, this would even strengthen Basil's influence in this area.

as "a benevolent and pious man, compassionate towards orphans and widows, and a benefactor and conciliator of people," and reminded the reader of Basil's patrilineal association with Edessa.[35] Matthew, however, despised Philaretos, labeling him "the first-born son of Satan,"[36] suggesting that in Matthew's eyes at least, Basil could have ruled Edessa in his own name, rather than as Philaretos' proxy. That he did not suggests that a certain level of Byzantine hierarchy survived amongst the various military leaders in Syria; Philaretos and others may even have imagined, cynically or not, that they were preserving a part of the Byzantine empire by their efforts.

Philaretos and the Naxarar Leaders

The *naxarar* leaders posed a much greater threat to Philaretos than the warlords. They had never been a part of the Byzantine military hierarchy, and thus were less likely to serve under Philaretos' command. In addition, they commanded greater respect among Armenians due to long traditions of leadership. Philaretos' struggle against them, however, was made easier by divisions within the ranks of the princely Armenian families. One of the first Armenian princes to be overthrown by Philaretos was T'ornik, prince of Sasun and perhaps a member of the Mamikonean family.[37] The Mamikoneans were one of the oldest princely families of Armenia; the title of *sparapet*, an office of the ancient Parthian Arsacid court, was traditionally theirs. The family led a heroic struggle against Abbasid persecution

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[35] "... *էր այր բարի եւ ամուսնածաւէր, ողորմած ի վերայ որբոց եւ այրեաց, խաղաղարար եւ յառաջս աշխարհի* .." Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 232; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 142-3.

[36] "... *որ էր ինկ անդրանիկ որդի սատանայի*," Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 222; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 137.

[37] Matthew does not mention what family T'ornik is from; however, both C. J. Yarnley in his article, "Philaretus," and René Grousset in his *Histoire de l'Arménie* claim T'ornik to be from the Mamikonean dynasty. Markwart discusses the possible antecedents of the family, and suggests that T'ornik's grandmother may have been a Mamikonean, but gives no evidence to support this thesis. Jos.

in 774-775, and the family was very nearly wiped out as a consequence. They lost most of their ancestral lands in central Armenia, and perhaps lingered on in peripheral Armenian lands such as Sasun, just east of where Philaretos established his headquarters at Mshar, near Melitene.[38] The Mamikoneans of Sasun were one of the few *naxarar* families to remain on their lands through the Byzantine annexations and the Turkish invasions, giving their leadership added strength in an era of abandonment. Philaretos demanded that T'ornik submit to his authority. When T'ornik refused, Philaretos met him in battle, but was defeated. According to Matthew of Edessa, who was always ready to believe the worst of Philaretos, a local Muslim emir, instigated by Philaretos, murdered T'ornik, and sent his skull to Philaretos who made a drinking-cup from it.[39] T'ornik's heirs were two young children, and although Matthew does not specify what happened to the Mamikonean lands, it is probable that Philaretos took control of them.

Philaretos also seized Antioch from the control of another princely Armenian family. Vasak Palhawuni ruled Antioch in 1076-77 and was the son of Gregory Magistros, (one of the emissaries sent to Hovhannes Kozern, the visionary *vardapet*, whose story is told at the beginning of this chapter.) Vasak's brother was the *katholikos* Gregory II, who had his own problems with Philaretos, soon to be discussed, and his sister married T'ornik Mamikonean. Their family, the Pahlavunis, was among the most prestigious of Armenian clans and claimed descent from St. Gregory the Illuminator, who brought Christianity to Armenia and was the first *katholikos* of Armenia. Antioch was nominally still under Byzantine rule, but the only communication possible with Constantinople following the disaster at Mantzikert was by

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Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach grieschischen und arabischen Geographen*, (Wien: Mechitharisten-Buchdruckerei, 1930), pp. 517-530.

[38] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, pp. 222-4; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 137.

[39] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, pp. 222-6; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 137-139.

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sea. Vasak ruled in the emperor's name, but with little imperial support. A group of Antiochene Greeks assassinated Vasak on the streets of the city in 1077, and soon after Vasak's military officers summoned Philaretos to come and take his place as *dux*.

Matthew did not say that Philaretos incited the assassins, nor did he suggest any connection between him and the officers contrived Vasak's death. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the Pahlavunis were staunchly opposed to the Armenian warlord. Vasak's brother, the *katholikos* Gregory, refused to remain in territory ruled by Philaretos, and actually allowed the consecration of a rival *katholikos* in order to be free of Philaretos' demands.[40] Furthermore, T'ornik of Sasun, murdered at Philaretos' connivance, was related to the Pahlavunis—he had married Vasak's niece.[41] Vasak or his supporters would have little reason to ally with Philaretos, and probably considered him a threat to legitimate Byzantine authority. A likely explanation for Vasak's assassination is that Vasak's officers planned his death in order to join Philaretos. This hypothesis is further strengthened by a variant reading of Matthew of Edessa's manuscript, which states that Vasak was killed by two blacksmiths, and that Philaretos was summoned to the city by both the troops and the blacksmiths, thus linking the assassins to the officers and the summons sent to Philaretos.[42] Again, there was a connection between links to the Byzantine military and loyalty to Philaretos.

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[40] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, pp. 226-8; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 139-140.

[41] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 224; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 138.

[42] "*Նա էր առել ի Վստիոք քաղաքին, նա սպանաւ ի շուկայ փողոցին Վստիոքայ ի ձեռն նենգաւորս ազգին Հոռոմոց, զի յոժամ անցանէր ընդ փողոցն, երկու Հաւատաւք յերկրպագումիւն Վասակայ եւ թուղթ ոչ առումենաց ի կալեալ առաջի Վասակայ, եւ նա խոնարհեալ զի առցէ զթուղթն, եւ ի նոյն ժամայն Հարեալ զնա ուրացոմն ի յայլամէջն, եւ մեռաւ մեծն Վասակ յանպատման եւ ի պիղծ սպանց.*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, pp. 228-30. In the text quoted above from the published edition of Matthew, Vasak is killed by two "hadad," a word which I cannot find in any dictionary. Dostourian chose to ignore this in his translation, and chose a reading from another manuscript as his basis for his translation of this section. Dostourian, in his note in the passage, apparently reads "hadad" as blacksmiths. See Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 141, 322, sec. 66, notes 1 and 2.

Yet, this story is complicated by the events that followed Philaretos' assumption of control of Antioch. Matthew recorded that he led the treacherous Greek officers out of the city and massacred them, "avenging the blood of the illustrious Vasak Pahlavuni."[43] Was Philaretos afraid of yet another coup directed against him? Or did he desire to replace the officers with his own soldiers? Philaretos was not above turning on those who were his supporters; following the death of Basil Apokapes in Edessa in 1083-1084, the populace elected an Armenian named Smbat to rule in his place. Smbat ruled independently of Philaretos, and was only brought down when an Edessan named Ishkhan, seeking to rule in Smbat's place, sought Philaretos' support to overthrow Smbat. Philaretos captured Edessa and executed Smbat, but Ishkhan suffered the same fate, along with a number of the nobility of Edessa who had supported Ishkhan.[44] Philaretos' murder of the very officers and blacksmiths who summoned him to Antioch does not preclude the possibility that they were allies.

Philaretos had a hand in the murder of yet another illustrious Armenian magnate. King Gagik of Ani, more recently of Cappadocia, was the head of the Bagratid dynasty, the royal family of Armenia since the ninth century. Three Greek warlords of the fortress of Kizistra, southwest of Caesarea[45] had seized Gagik in an ambush and held him captive in their fortress.[46] The castle was soon besieged by other Armenian princes still loyal to the Bagratid name, and the three warlords were in a quandary as to how to resolve their situation. Philaretos sent them a note suggesting the only way out of their dilemma was to kill the captive Gagik. They followed his advice, "and the whole Armenian nation lamented

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[43] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 230; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 141.
[44] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 238-40; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 146-7.
[45] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 236; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 144, see note 4, p. 323.
[46] This was probably in revenge for Gagik's murder of the Orthodox bishop of Caesarea, Marcus.

Gagik's death."[47] Gagik was no direct threat to Philaretos. His lands were in Cappadocia, and were at this time suffering catastrophic raids by the Turks. But, as Matthew's eulogy above shows, Gagik was seen as a leader of the Armenian nation in exile. By eliminating other Armenian rulers, particularly the heads of *naxarar* families, Philaretos made his own leadership the only option.

Philaretos and the Katholicate

Philaretos tolerated no competitors, and it little surprise to find that he sought place the Armenian church under his influence. Philaretos demanded that the *katholikos* Gregory II Pahlavuni reside in territory controlled by him and maintain the katholicate there. Gregory refused, but agreed to allow another priest, Sargis, to be ordained *katholikos* in his place. Sargis made his home in Honi, in the district of Jahan, and when Jahan was lost to a Turkish emir in 1085-1086, Philaretos again demanded that the *katholikos*, Sargis' successor Theodore, leave Jahan and come to Marash, still under Philaretos' control. Theodore did not come, perhaps prohibited by the Turks, but perhaps happy to be free from Philaretos, and so in exasperation the warlord had yet another *katholikos* established in Marash. The new *katholikos*, Paul, soon realized the powerlessness of his position and the patent ridiculousness of the ever-multiplying katholicates—for Gregory was still alive and there was still another in Ani—so he resigned and returned to his monastery.[48] Although the katholicate has also lost some of its influence due to the Turkish invasions and the displacement of Armenian elites, to which it was closely tied, it remained a powerful symbol of Armenian identity. With the *katholikos* by his side, Philaretos could more plausibly claim the mantle of traditional Armenian authority.

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[47] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, pp. 235-6; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 144-5.

Philaretos and the Turks

Philaretos' attempt to dominate northern Syria eventually fell afoul of the Turks. Sulaiman, son of Kutulmish, a Seljuk general and founder of the Sultanate of Rum, captured Antioch in 1084-5 while Philaretos was in Edessa, attempting to shore up his position after the death of Basil Apokapes.[49] A year later Philaretos lost the district of Jahan, near the city of Marash, to Turkish invaders. Philaretos could no longer match Seljuk strength. In 1086-1087, he traveled to Persia in order to submit to Malik-Shah, the theoretical overlord of Seljuk forces, in hopes of gaining official recognition of what remained of his authority. While he was absent, a cabal of military officers killed his second-in-command in Edessa. When the sultan heard of this, he no longer considered Philaretos to be of any importance, and ignored his pleas for assistance. Matthew of Edessa believed that Philaretos converted to Islam in a desperate attempt to gain the sultan's favor, an event Anna Komnena recorded in a different context,[50] but the sultan was unimpressed. Philaretos was seeking support in the wrong places on two accounts. The Sultan in Baghdad had little influence over his relatives in Asia Minor, indeed they were frequently in revolt against his centralizing authority. More importantly, Philaretos was losing control due to the loss in confidence among the Christian population he ruled—hence the revolt during his absence. With the loss of Edessa, he lost the geographic and political center of his principality, and his power dissipated. Gregory Bar Hebraeus, a thirteenth-century author writing in Syriac, believed

[48] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, pp. 244-6; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 149-50.
[49] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, pp. 240-2; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 147-8.
[50] Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, p. 153; Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 250; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 152-3.

that Philaretos continued to rule in Marash after the loss of Edessa,[51] but if so, it was only for a few years more.

Philaretos' reign had a significant impact on the perception and reality of lordship in northern Syria and Cilicia. He destroyed much of the aristocratic leadership of the Armenian diaspora, reducing Armenian ability to resist Turkish pressure. It is significant that after the death of Gagik of Ani, the chronicler Matthew had little praise for any Christian, but instead looked to Malik-Shah as a protector of Christians, declaring that "this sultan's heart was filled with benevolence, gentleness, and compassion for Christians." [52] Similarly, the emir Ismail, Malik-Shah's brother-in-law, was "a benefactor of all the Armenians, moreover, he was an embellisher of monasteries and a supporter of monks, besides which he protected the [Christian] faithful against harassment from the Persians." [53] Armenians turned to other leaders, including the crusaders, in the wake of the destruction of the Armenian ruling class. Philaretos' status as a warlord with troops of varied origins, including Franks, was a role into which the Crusaders could easily step.

The fall of Philaretos did not mean the end of local Christian political power and the complete ascendancy of the Seljuks. An emir named Buzan ruled Edessa, nominally under the authority of Malik-Shah, for a few years following Philaretos' death. In 1094-1095, he was defeated and killed by Tutush, Malik-Shah's brother and Sultan of Damascus. Tutush appointed T'oros, a Greek, as the city's leader. Shortly after, Tutush rebelled against his nephew Berkyaruk, and was killed on the battlefield. T'oros took advantage of the ensuing

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[51] Gregory Abu'l Faraj Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, tr. Ernest A. Wallis Budge, (London: Oxford University Press), vol. I, p. 229.

[52] "Այս իիրսդ լի էր քրիստոնեական նկատմամբ տաճած քաղցրութիւնամբ եւ հեզութիւնամբ . . ." Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, pp. 250-2; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 153.

[53] "Եւ էր նա յամենայն կողմանց քաղցր եւ ողորմած եւ բարի եւ խնամասէր եւ մատուցաւէր եւ խաղաղարար եւ չինող ամենայն աշխարհին Հայոց, զարդարիչ վանորէից եւ միխիթարիչ կրօնաւորաց, եւ

chaos and began to fortify Edessa against his former Turkish lord. Turkish and Armenian troops serving Tutush held the citadel, but T'oros controlled the town. The garrison sent word to neighboring Seljuk leaders who besieged Edessa, but failed to take it. Eventually, a Christian in the Seljuk forces allowed T'oros to seize the citadel. However, T'oros' attempts to control the area surrounding Edessa were not as successful. His attempt to capture a nearby fortress still in the hands of the Seljuk met with disastrous defeat. At the same time, Melitene was ruled by the *kouropalates* Gabriel, an Armenian whose daughter was married to T'oros. Seljuk attempts to conquer Melitene failed. Local Armenian authority thus survived Philaretos' fall, but largely in isolated pockets.

Armenian Perceptions of the West

The events surrounding Philaretos' ephemeral lordship thus prepared the way militarily and politically for the arrival of the crusaders. But how did Armenian communities view the arrival of these western armies? Armenian sources of the twelfth century, that is, after the capture of Jerusalem and the settlement of the Franks, emphasize the cataclysmic, even apocalyptic, effect that the arrival the armies of the First Crusade had upon the Armenian communities of the Near East. The story of the *vardapet* Hovhannes Kozern recounted at the beginning of this chapter is but one example of the dramatic language used to describe the *adventus crucesignatorum*. However, this language reflected a retrospective and polemic interpretation placed upon the events by an author who knew how the arrival of the crusaders would affect the political and religious map of the Near East. Reading across the sources reveals how the crusaders fit into paradigms of Armenian political and military life constructed through the experiences of the eleventh century. The Armenian communities

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ազատ բահէր զհաւատացեալն յանհաւատ պարսից." Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 264;

were already adapted to the arrival of large Byzantine, and more recently, Turkish armies moving swiftly through their territory. Thus the crusader armies were in no way unusual in their size. Nor did Armenian communities make much of the fact that this particular army was largely western in composition. Although Franks appear surprisingly infrequently in Armenian chronicles written before the arrival of the armies of the First Crusade, Greek sources and post-Crusade Armenian chronicles make it clear that Frankish individuals and troops were common in lands that the Armenians inhabited. Their significance was emphasized only after the establishment of the Latin principalities in Syria and Palestine.

Westerners in Armenian Histories

Armenian chroniclers displayed no interest in events in western Europe in the pre-crusade period. Of the Armenians who traveled to the West, none of them recorded their experiences and impressions of the West. The few instances where Latins are mentioned in pre-crusade Armenian texts usually concern the historical or ecclesiastical events of Late Antiquity. Stephen of Taron wrote his *Universal History* at the end of the tenth century at the behest of the *katholikos* Sargis. His first book establishes chronologies based on the Old Testament and classical history. Roman emperors briefly appear between a discussion of the Maccabees and the Assyrian monarchs, and again when their activities intersect with events occurring in the Near East, such as when Julius Caesar invaded Egypt.[54] His second book covers classical and Late Antique history, and the only Latin elements are again brief mentions of Roman emperors such as Diocletian. The third book of Stephen of Taron is the most often utilized by historians, as it was contemporary with the author and discusses a

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Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 160.

period of history for which there are relatively few other sources. In this section, Stephen mentioned Rome (or the West) only twice; and both are in a letter from the Katholikos of Armenia to the Greek bishop of Sebasteia discussing the theology of Christ's nature.[55]

Other stories Stephen related reveal ignorance about Latin history and traditions. Stephen recounted that Constantine transferred the relics of Peter and Paul to Constantinople, an account that clearly ignores the well-established cult center for both saints in Rome and the corresponding lack of one in Constantinople. Movses Dasxuranci, the attributed author or editor of an Armenian history of the Albanians, believed the see of Rome was founded by the evangelist Luke.[56] Yet the name of "Rome" conferred an air of legitimacy and authority. Movses stated that the prestige of books brought from Rome by the bishop of Siwnik were enough to make the bishopric the third-ranked in all Armenia.[57] Historiographically the Armenians looked back to Late Antiquity for inspiration. The portion of their chronicles that deal with early Church history and Biblical history are dependent on Eusebius of Caesarea. Although Eusebius did discuss events in the western portion of the Empire, the Armenian historians such as Stephen and Movses did not incorporate this material into their own histories. The Armenians remained rooted in a near eastern-focused history, where Rome hardly interrupted the continuity of Babylon, Assyria, the Israelite patriarchs, the Persian Empire to the Caliphs.

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[54] Step'anos Taronets'oy Asoghkan, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, ed. M. Malkhasiants, (St. Petersburg, 1885), pp. 17-18; translated in *Des Stephanos von Taron Armenische Geschichte*, tr. Heinreich Gelzer and August Burckhardt, (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1907), p. 12.

[55] Step'anos Taronets'oy Asoghkan, *Patmut'iwn Tiezerakan*, ed. M. Malkhasiants, (St. Petersburg, 1885), p. 216, 220; translated in Stephen Asolik de Taron, *Histoire Universelle*, tr. Frederic Macler, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897), pp. 92, 97.

[56] Movses Kałankatuatsi, *Patmut'iwn Ałuanits Aškharhi*, ed. Varag Arakel'yan, (Erevan, 1983), pp. 272-3. Translated in Movses Dasxuranci, *History of the Caucasian Albanians*, tr. C. J. F. Dowsett, (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 175. Almost nothing is known about the author, which accounts for the variations in his surname.

In the account of Aristakes de Lastivert (d. 1070's), an Armenian historian who chronicled the disasters of the Turkish invasion of Armenia and Anatolia in the mid-eleventh century, the West and its inhabitants are even further in the background. The only mention of any Latins comes when Aristakes mentioned the elite Varangian guard, which we know from other sources was made up largely of Nordic and English soldiers. Aristakes, however, did not comment on the background of the guards.[58] They were soldiers serving the Emperor, and that was sufficient to explain their actions and importance. Yahya of Antioch, an orthodox Christian writing in Arabic in the mid-eleventh century, had little more to say about the West. A relative of the tenth-century patriarch of Alexandria, Eutychios, who was also a historian,[59] Yahya began his chronicle with a list of recent patriarchs of the Christian world, but admitted that he was uncertain about the sequence of the patriarchs of the West, that is the bishops of Rome.[60] In the rest of his history, Yahya only mentioned Latins or western Europe once, when Almafitan merchants in Cairo were massacred in a riot at the end of the tenth century.[61]

In contrast to these pre-crusade historians, Matthew of Edessa's chronicle is flooded with Franks in Armenian lands before the First Crusade. Matthew's view of Franks inevitably changed after the events of the First Crusade and the establishment of the County of Edessa; the prophecy of Hovhannes Kozern demonstrated this. Matthew linked the

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[57] Movses Kałankatuatsi, *Patmut'iwn*, pp. 320-2; Movses Dasxuranci, *History*, p. 211. C. F. J. Dowsettt assumes that "Rome" mentioned here is actually New Rome, Constantinople, but I believe the books speak of the founding of Rome under Romulus indicated that Old Rome is meant.

[58] Aristakes de Lastivert, *Recit des malheurs de la nation armenienne*, tr. Marius Canard and Haig Berberian, (Bruxelles: Editions de Byzantion, 1973), p. 80.

[59] Alexander Kazhdan, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) s. v. "Eutychios of Alexandria."

[60] Yahya ibn-Sa'id, *Histoire d Yahya-ibn-Sa'id d'Antioche Continuateur de Sa'id-ibn-Bitriq*, ed. and tr. J. Kratchkovsky and A. Vasiliev, *Patrologia Orientalis*, vol. 18, eds. R. Graffin and F. Nau, (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1924), fasc. I., pp. 706-8.

[61] Graffin and Nau, *Patrologia Orientalis*, (Paris, 1932), Vol. 23, *Histoire de Yahya d'Antioche*, fasc. II, ed. and tr. Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev, pp. 447-8.

Franks who appear in the pre-crusade portions of his chronicle to the heroes of the First Crusade with a stereotype of the Frank—fearless, pious and violent. In 1055, a nameless Frank in the armies of Basil Apokapes valiantly burned down the Turkish catapult that was threatening the Armenian town of Mantskert, saying "I will go forth and burn down that catapult, and today my blood shall be shed for all the Christians . . ."[62] A sentiment worthy of a crusader indeed.

Many other Franks appear in Matthew's chronicle, some even by name, but not all of them measure up to Matthew's ideal of the Crusader. Although Matthew often imposed post-crusade images of the Frank on the mercenaries of the late eleventh century, many accounts of Franks emerge from his chronicle uncolored by apocalyptic and crusader ideology. Matthew accused the Norman mercenary Hervé, in the Armenian sources named Francopoulos, of betraying his Byzantine employers in a battle with the Turks near Amida in 1063, for which he was drowned in the Mediterranean by the orders of Constantine X Ducas.[63] Byzantine chronicles of the period mention Francopoulos and his involvement in battles in Armenia,[64] but did not record the same violent death that Matthew described. We have already met Philaretos' henchman Raimbaud, whose reputation does not gain by being associated with Philaretos; a man Matthew calls "the very offspring of Satan."[65] A troop of Frankish soldiers stationed near Edessa in 1066 betrayed the aristocratic Armenian *dux* of

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[62] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 132; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 87.

[63] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p 154-6; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 99-101.

[64] Georgius Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium*, ed. Immanuel Bekker, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, (Bonn, 1834), vol. II pp 616-19. Hereafter as Cedrenus. For a general discussion of Franks in military service in the Empire, see R. Janin, "Les Francs au service des "Byzantins," *Echos d'Orient* 29 (1930), pp. 61-72.

[65] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, pp. 222; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 137.

Antioch,[66] who was defending Edessa from the Turks[67] at the behest of the Byzantine leader of Edessa, who was jealous of the Armenian's prowess in battle.[68]

To understand how the crusaders were viewed when they first arrived, we must remove this post-crusade layer, particularly when reading Matthew of Edessa. There was nothing remarkable about the crusaders until they had been there several years, and it slowly became apparent to people such as Matthew of Edessa that the Franks were not just another mercenary army passing through. This realization can be seen in the resort to the prophecy of Hovhannes Kozern. Matthew of Edessa actually used this apocalyptic vision twice. He first employed this prophecy at the death of the Byzantine Emperor Basil II.[69] This version, however, had only the approach of the grim apocalypse of the Turks without the redemption of the Crusaders or the revivified Byzantine empire. Matthew later revised this story to fit the crusaders into God's plan for the return of a truly Christian Empire.

The history of the Armenian communities of northern Syria and Cilicia are crucial for understanding the events of the First Crusade. Philaretos, in his ambitious and ruthless desire to build a principality for himself controlling Cilicia and Syria, destroyed the political strength and military will of the Christian communities he dominated. By attacking and undermining rival Armenian nobles and by creating division within the Armenian church, Philaretos effectively destroyed the political structures of Armenian communities. The principality he constructed at such a price did not survive Philaretos' fall from power in 1086, leaving Syria and Cilicia with little political and military organization. A few of the

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[66] Joseph Laurent argues that this anonymous Armenian *dux* of Antioch should be identified with Khatchatour, appointed *dux* in 1068 by Romanus IV Diogenes. See J. Laurent, "Le duc d'Antioche Khatchatour," in *Études d'histoire arménienne*, (Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1971), pp. 163-165.

[67] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 170; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 108.

[68] The text is ambiguous, referring to the "horomk," a term which Michael confusingly applies to both Greeks and Latins. However, as the western troops were earlier referred to as "Franks," I believe that the "Horom" indicates that the treacherous *proximus* who schemed against the Armenian was Byzantine.

[69] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, pp. 58-62; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 47-9

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stronger cities, such as Edessa and Melitene, had local leaders who attempted to fill Philaretos' place, but generally, as their power remained entirely local, and they did not have the strength to adequately defend their communities. Most communities, then, accepted the domination of various Seljuk leaders, finding in them at least a measure of physical security and a surprising level of tolerance. The prominent role Frankish mercenaries played in Byzantine and warlord armies created a paradigm into which crusader forces easily slipped. Yet even as Philaretos smoothed the way for the crusaders, his actions foreshadowed them. As will be discussed in the next two chapters, the Franks followed a similar course of action to Philaretos, from establishing their authority in the same territory to encouraging the Armenian *katholikos* to reside in Frankish territory. For the indigenous Christians of Syria and Cilicia then, the events of the First Crusade were not in themselves particularly noteworthy; what was surprising was that the crusaders succeeded where Philaretos had failed—in the establishment of permanent Christian principalities.

Chapter 2

The First Crusade and Beyond:

Franks and Armenians in Northern Syria, 1097-1100

According to Michael the Syrian, patriarch of the Jacobite church, the crusaders believed that their mission was not only divinely-directed but had a direct correlation to the history of Christian Syria, for "just as Edessa believed in Christ our Savior before Jerusalem, so Edessa has been given to us before Jerusalem by Christ our Savior."[1] Michael thus paralleled the grace of Christian belief with the boon of crusader rule, referring to the tradition that Abgar V the Black, king of Edessa, had converted to Christianity while Christ was still alive. By the time Michael wrote in the late twelfth century, Edessa was no longer ruled by the Franks, but the Jacobite community still took pride in the city's early conversion to Christianity and association with the First Crusade. Edessa thus passed into communal memory, and historiographic analysis, as a place of unusual amity between Franks and Armenians. James Forse encapsulated this view when he remarked that

> . . . on the whole Armeno-Frankish relations were marked by a degree of amicability and co-operation in stark contrast to the mutual distrust and hatred which quickly came to characterize Byzantine-Frankish contacts brought about by the First Crusade. When this amicability is coupled with the extensive participation of Armenian princes in crusader campaigns, the Armenian role in the First Crusade seems almost to be that of an equal partner with the Franks.[2]

Edessa, northern Syria and Cilicia in 1097, however, were not nearly as welcoming as Michael and Forse imagined. Indeed the leaders of northern Syria could agree on very little. The

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[1] ". . . [illegible]" Michel le Syrien, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and tr. J.-B. Chabot, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905), vol. IV, p. 587; tr. vol. III, XV, vii, p. 184.

[2] James H. Forse, "Armenians and the First Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991), p. 13.

proliferation of local leaders and the ensuing political complexity can be glimpsed from the following description of who ruled what where (see figure 1 for a map of this area). In 1097, the mountain areas of Cilicia lay under the control of Armenian leaders such as Oshin of Lampron and Constantine of Vahka.[3] The Cappadocian city of Melitene, though largely populated by Jacobites and Muslims, was governed by the Melkite Armenian Gabriel. In northern Syria, the Greek T'oros ruled Edessa, and Kogh Vasil controlled a cluster of cities around Kesoun and Raban. Two Armenian princes, Constantine of Gargar and Ablgharib of Bira, dominated the area around the Euphrates. North of Bira, the sons of the Armenian Basag claimed Zeugma. Some towns, such as Samosata, Saruj, and Harran, remained under Turkish rulers, while fortresses such as Tell Bashir were garrisoned by troops loyal to either of the Turkish rulers in the area, Yaghi Siyan in Antioch or Ridvan in Aleppo. Local Armenian warlords commanded the countryside from innumerable castles. Without even a theoretical political framework to give legitimacy to their authority, each leader viewed his neighbor as a possible threat.[4] Into this land where everyone seemed to be king, the arrival of the crusaders introduced another competitor for power, unwelcomed by any local ruler, no matter his ethnic or religious background. It is not surprising, then, that Armenians sometimes co-operated with the Turks against the Franks, just as they did against each other.

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[3] Constantine is referred to as "son of Rupen" in Armenian sources, and as "de montanis" by Latins. Modern historians generally label him a Rupenid or Rupenian, referring to his family who became the royal dynasty of Armenian Cilicia in 1198. I find this dynastic designation gives too much glory to a man who was one of the lesser Armenian leaders of the period. I have chosen the geographical nomenclature, though not common, as it gives the best sense of his standing and influence in this period, and is the least cumbersome in English. Vahka (modern Feke) is located high in the eastern Taurus mountains on the Göksu River. A thirteenth-century chronicle claims that Constantine captured the fortress in 1097. Héthoum, Comte de Gor'igos, "Table Chronique," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents Arméniens*, vol. I, p. 471. Smbat, Constable of Armenian Cilicia (1208-1276) recorded that Constantine seized the castle in 1092. Connétable Sempad, "Chronique du Royaume de la Petite Armenie," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Documents Arméniens*, vol. I, p. 610. For the complications of this text, see Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "The Armenian Chronicle of the Constable Smpad or of the "Royal Historian," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959), pp. 141-168.

[4] The Rupenids of Cilicia became the kings of Armenian Cilicia in part simply through surviving the twelfth-century cut-throat competition among Armenians.

Urban populations, on the other hand, welcomed the crusaders with processions and hymns of thanksgiving. They bore the brunt of local warfare, facing looting and the destruction of property, if not worse. Even after victory, cities, as concentrated places of populations and purses, were easily taxed. Moreover, Christians in town under Muslim authority were subjected to higher taxes than Muslims. The crusader goal of a renewed Christian principality in the Near East provided an ideology around which many anti-Turkish urban communities could unite, drawing on much the same support as Philaretos did some twenty-five years earlier.

First Encounters: Cilicia

To speak of 'first encounters' between Franks and Armenians is inaccurate. As described in the previous chapter, Franks had served as mercenaries in the Byzantine army throughout the eleventh century and had fought with Philaretos in the 1080's. During the same period, Armenian monks, bishops, and merchants traveled to western Europe.[5] But the phrase, 'first encounter,' does capture the disparity between expectations and the reality that confronted both groups. Many Armenians did not distinguish between crusaders, armed pilgrims on God's mission, and the Frankish mercenaries with whom they were already acquainted; still others identified with the crusader goals of liberating Jerusalem and the Christian east from the Muslims. Crusaders, on the other hand, were prepared for neither the religious nor the ethnic complexities of the Levant.[6] In northern Syria the Christian population was the clear majority. The religious diversity of Late Antiquity still flourished there; Melkites, Jacobites and Armenians, as well as Nestorians lived in urban and rural

[5] A. E. Redgate, *The Armenians*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), pp. 231-236.

[6] For a detailed discussion of the attitude of the principal Latin chroniclers of the First Crusade towards the Armenians, see the appendix.

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communities from Antioch to Melitene to Edessa. The Franks initially understood these as different only linguistically and ethnically; awareness of theological differences came later.

A certain number of Armenians, relatively few but enough to be noticeable, joined the crusaders early on. The infamous Bagrat—about whom we will learn more later—joined the army at Nicaea, and Fulcher of Chartres marveled at the babble of languages, including Armenian, that he heard around the crusader campfires during the march from Nicaea to Antioch.[7] Cappadocia was "terra Hermeniorum," the land of the Armenians, due to the large number of Armenians settled there.[8] But it was in Cilicia, home to large towns mostly Armenian in population, that some crusaders first recognized the possibilities local Christian communities presented to them. The young hotheads of the crusade, Tancred and Baldwin of Boulogne, seizing the opportunity for land, wealth and authority available to an ambitious adventurer with a few knights under his command, separated from the main body of the army on September 14, 1097,[9] and headed to coastal Cilicia.[10] Due to its mountainous terrain and

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[7] Fulcher Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer, (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätbuchhandlung, 1913), pp. pp. 202-203, hereafter as Fulcher, *Historia*; translated in *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, tr. Frances Rita Ryan, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1969), p. 88, hereafter as Ryan, *History*.

[8] Louis Bréhier (ed.), *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade*, vol. 4, *Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen age*, (Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, Éditeur. 1924), p. 60.

[9] All dates given in this chapter relative to the crusade rely on Heinrich Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie de la première croisade (1094-1100)," *Revue de l'orient latin* (1893) VI, pp. 21-4-293, 490-549; VII, pp. 430-503, VIII, pp. 318-382.

[10] Some historians have argued that Tancred and Baldwin's conquest of Cilicia was a plan approved by all the crusading princes. See Robert Lawrence Nicholson, *Tancred: A Study of his Career and Work in Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Libraries, 1940), p. 38-41. Hereafter as Nicholson, *Tancred*. Others, however, saw this as a purely private enterprise on the part of Baldwin and Tancred. Steven Runciman, "The First Crusade: Constantinople to Antioch," in Kenneth Setton (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, vol. I, *The First Hundred Years*, ed. Marshall Baldwin, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955), vol. I, p. 296-302. Ralph of Caen, who marched with Tancred, suggests that Tancred went from his own initiative, but this suggestion deliberately contrasts Tancred's choice of the difficult road through the Taurus mountains with the main crusader army's choice of the easy road to Marash. Radulfus Cadomensis, "Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana," *Receuil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. III, xxxiii, p.629. Hereafter as Radulfus, "Gesta Tancredi." Translated in M. Guizot, *Collection des mèmoires relatifs a l'histoire de France*, (Paris: J.-L.-J. Brière Libraire, 1825), p. 69. Hereafter as Guizot, 1825. John France agrees with Nicholson that this was a strategy agreed upon by all the crusaders, designed to isolate Antioch as part of an "Armenian strategy." France, *Victory in the East*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

location as a borderland between Anatolia and the Levant, Cilicia was notoriously difficult to control whether from Rome, Constantinople or Baghdad, and often flourished as a semi-independent area.[11] While the cities of the Cilician coastline had fallen under loose Turkish control in the years following 1071, one crusader noted that "the Armenians preserved their freedom in the highest mountains."[12] Tancred and Baldwin took different routes through the Taurus mountains, resulting in a tense confrontation outside Tarsus. Tancred arrived first, and after having defeated the Turkish garrison in a battle outside the walls, he negotiated for the surrender of the city the next day. During these negotiations, Baldwin arrived and demanded a share of the city and its plunder. The size of Baldwin's army compensated for his tardiness; Tancred had only one hundred knights and two hundred foot soldiers, while Baldwin was accompanied by five hundred knights and two thousand foot soldiers. [13] Although Tancred, on the basis of his military victory and subsequent negotiation, had already been accepted by Tarsus' citizens as ruler,[14] Baldwin forced his rival to withdraw and claimed the city as his own.

Oshin of Lampron

Even as Tancred slunk away from the city with a bowed head and muttered vows of revenge, ambassadors from the nearby town of Adana sought his aid. They came in the name

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1994), pp. 185-96. Although Tancred and Baldwin's actions may have actually achieved this, little in their actions betrays an interest in the common goals of the crusade. Both seemed far more motivated by self-aggrandizement.

[11] For Cilician independence in the late Roman period, see Noel Lenski, "Assimilation and Revolt in the Territory of Isauria, from the 1st Century B.C. to the 6th Century A.D.," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the East* 42 (1999), pp. 411-465. I would like to thank Peter Brown for this reference.

[12] "Ea namque tempestate Turcis dominari contigerat, Graecis famulari, Armenis montium arduitate tueri libertatem." Radulfus, "Gesta Tancredi," xxxiv, p. 630; Guizot, 1825, p. 72.

[13] For Tancred's troop numbers, see Radulfus, *Gesta Tancredi*, xxxiv, p. 630; for Baldwin's, see *Gesta Tancredi*, xxxvii, p. 633.

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of Ursinus, an Armenian who invited Tancred to attack the neighboring city of Mamistra, suggesting it would be an easy conquest. As the Armenian predicted, the Turkish garrison fled upon Tancred's approach and the citizens welcomed Tancred's "paternal" authority. [15]

Ralph gave Ursinus a prominent role in his narrative; his speech is one of the longest in the *Gesta,* rivaling the grand denunciations and rebuttals that followed the crusader capture of Jerusalem, and thus was one of the first Frankish representations of the local Christians whom they had come to defend. Ursinus explained that he had gained control of Adana recently: "I have been living in the mountains, free, but mourning the slavery of the Christians no less than they who suffer."[16] Moved by the plight of his fellow Armenians, Ursinus led his troops to liberate the city. His triumph over the Turks was not only a military victory, but also a religious one that converted the city from Islam to Christianity. "From this moment, *Allachibar,* which the infidels proclaimed in prayer, was silenced in the city, instead "Christ conquers, reigns and commands" resounded, returning as if in restoration." [17] Ursinus was thus imagined as a 'natural' crusader; without having taken the crusader vow, his goal was to liberate Christians from the Muslim yoke. His cooperation with Tancred contrasted with Baldwin's, revealing the shallowness of the latter's crusading spirit.

Perhaps because his role in the *Gesta Tancredi* was more representational than real, little information confirmed Ursinus as a historical person. [18] Dulaurier was the first to identify

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[14] "Orta autem die, venerunt maiores civitatis, et reddiderunt sponte civitatem, dicentes illis, qui super hoc litigabant adinvicem, "Sinite modo! Seniores sinite! Quia volumnus et petimus dominari et regnare super nos illum, qui heri tam viriliter pugnavit cum Turcis." Bréhier, (ed.) *Histoire anonyme,* p. 58.

[15] Radulfus, *Gesta Tancredi,* xli, p. 636; Guizot, 1825, p. 86-7.

[16] " . . . ego montes colebam, liber quidem, sed Christianae plebis servitutem non minus quam qui paterentur, ingemiscens . . ." Radulfus, *Gesta Tancredi,* xl, p. 634; Guizot, 1825, p. 81.

[17] "Ex illo, *Allachibar,* quod infidelitas orando exclamat, hac in urbe obmutuit, ac pro eo *Christus vincit, regnat, imperat,* tanquam rediens postliminio, reboavit." Radulfus, *Gesta Tancredi,* xl, p. 636.

[18] Ralph of Caen describes him as the lord of Adana, but Albert of Aachen reports that Adana was captured by a Burgundian named Welf. Albertus Aquensis, "Historia Hierosolymitana," *Recueil des Historiens des croisades; Historiens occidentaux,* vol. IV, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), III, x, p. 346. Curiously, Albert mentions an Ursinus later in the chronicle, who is "de montanis Antiochae." Albert, *Historia,* XI, xli, p. 683. He may be the same as Ralph's Ursinus. Hagenmeyer argued that Albert, or

Ursinus with Oshin,[19] the ruler of Lampron, a castle in the Taurus Mountains.[20] Samuel of Ani, writing in the late twelfth century, recorded that

> In the Armenian year 522 (1075-6), to escape the domination of the Turks, the prince Oshin abandoned his dynastic lands of Mariats-Dchourk, in the area of Kantsac, with his brother Halgam, with his wife and other nobles. Carrying his wealth and the finger of the holy apostle Peter, he entered Cilicia and captured from the Muslims the fortress of Lampron, at the foot of the Taurus mountains towards Tarsus.[21]

Under the crusader clothing in which Ralph dressed Ursinus was a local Armenian lord who viewed the crusaders within the context of his own political and religious world. At first glance, Ralph's Ursinus had little to do with the Armenian Oshin. Why would he ally himself with Tancred, who had just been defeated by Baldwin? After all, Lampron lay up-river from Tarsus, the city now controlled by Baldwin, and this proximity, when added to Baldwin's impressive army would seem to have made him the more desirable ally. Oshin's apparent lack of involvement in the capture of Mamistra is also puzzling. If Oshin thought Mamistra would be so easily conquered, why did he not seize it himself, or at least join Tancred in the conquest? The answer lies in the chaotic and uncertain political world of

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whoever his source was, confused Ursinus, Latin for "bear," and Welf, which sounds like "wolf." Heinrich Hagenmeyer (ed.), *Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätbuchshandlung, 1890), pp. 223-4, note 66. Ralph's account, as an eyewitness, is to be preferred in this instance over Albert.

[19] M. Dulaurier (ed.), *Recueil des Historiens des croisade: Documents arméniens*, (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1869), vol. I, p. 33, note 2. Joseph Laurent argues that Ursinus, Oshin and Aspietes (a figure in Anna Komnena many historians have identified as Oshin) are all different people. I find his argument separating Aspietes from Oshin convincing, but find the links between Oshin and Ursinus, if not compelling, at least persuasive. Joseph Laurent, "Arméniens de Cilicie: Aspiétès, Oschin, Ursinus," *Études d'histoire arméniennes*, (Louvain: Éditions Peeters, 1971), pp. 51-60.

[20] For a history of the castle and a description of its recent condition, see F. C. R. Robinson and P. C. Hughes, "Lampron—Castle of Armenian Cilicia," *Anatolian Studies* 19 (1969), pp. 183-207.

[21] "ի ՇՀԲ ամին ի բռնութենէն Տաճկաց եւ Օշինն իշխանն ի ժառանգութենէ իւրմէ Մայրագաց Ջուրք Հանդէպ Գանձակայ ունելով ընդ իւր զեղբայրն իւր զԱղկամ: եւ զմայրն իւր եւ զամուսինն իւր. ազատադունդ իշխանաքն եւ ամենայն գահիւն. ունելով ընդ իւր եւ զմասն սուրբ առաքելոյն Պետրոսի: եւ եկեալ յաշխարհն Կիլիկեցւոց եւ աշխարհաւ Քրիստոսի առաքելոյն էար ի Տաճեաց եւ զսկանաւոր բերդն Լամբրոն. որ է մերձ առ սարտուով լերինն Տօրոսի ի գահ մայրաքաղաքին Յարսոսի:" Samuel Kahanats Anetsiots [Samuel of Ani], *Havak'munk' I Grots Patmagrats*, (Ejmiacin, 1893), roughly translated in

Cilicia. Rather than seeing the Franks as natural allies in a religious war against he Muslims, Oshin saw the Franks as yet another threat to his fragile authority. Baldwin's control of Tarsus, so near to Lampron, was Oshin's real concern. He encouraged Tancred to remain in the area to serve as a counterweight to Baldwin; conflict between the two would distract either from attacking him. Such a strategy echoes tactics by *naxarar* leaders, who had survived by playing Byzantine forces against those of the Caliphate. Contrary to Ralph's portrayal, "Ursinus" was not a crusader in Armenian clothing, but a local leader who resented the crusaders' popularity in the cities and feared for his own position. Rather than attack the sizeable crusader forces, Oshin sought to mitigate the danger they posed through a diplomatic version of 'divide and conquer.'

If encouraging conflict between Baldwin and Tancred was Oshin's intention, he achieved his goal. On hearing of Tancred's success in Mamistra, Baldwin gathered his forces and marched against his co-crusader. Oshin helped Tancred to delay his rival's passage, and the citizens of Adana and Mamistra dismantled the bridges spanning the Sarus (modern Seyhan) River.[22] Baldwin crossed with difficulty and camped in front of Mamistra. After a series of inconclusive single combats, the tense standoff between Tancred and Baldwin was resolved with a truce. Soon after, both crusaders rejoined the main crusader army, leaving behind garrisons in Tarsus and Mamistra. Oshin had successfully deflected the crusader armies into conflicts with each other, preserving his own authority from challenge.

Oshin's caution contrasted with the apparent enthusiasm the populations of Tarsus and Mamistra showed towards the crusaders. Their enthusiasm, however, should not be interpreted as enthusiasm for the establishment of Frankish authority in their cities. The

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Samouel d'Ani, "Tables Chronologiques," tr. Marie-Félicité Brosset, *Collection d'Historiens Arméniens*. (Amsterdam: APA-Philo Press, 1979), 2nd edition, p. 453.

[22] Radulfus, *Gesta Tancredi*, xlii, p. 637; Guizot, 1825, p. 88.

crusaders must have appeared little different to the townspeople than the mercenary bands of Franks who had served both the Byzantines and Philaretos. The main crusader army still marched with a Byzantine detachment, to whom all conquered territories were theoretically to be relinquished. The welcome the Cilician citizenry offered to Tancred was in anticipation of a restoration of Byzantine authority, or perhaps that of a regional Byzantine or Armenian warlord. The crusader enterprise of establishing a western-oriented principality was not one of the likely outcomes, at least in their eyes. Deliberately or not, Tancred and Baldwin's political authority was conflated with that of the Byzantines.

First Encounters: northern Syria[23]

On October 17, 1097, Baldwin, accompanied by one hundred knights, headed to the "provinicia sinistra"—the western bank of the Euphrates river. Fulcher of Chartres, though Baldwin's chaplain and participant in the campaign, did not explain why Baldwin decided to leave the crusader army; if Baldwin sought land, why did he not stay in Tarsus? The city and its surrounding territory certainly appeared to have been suitable to serve as the core of a future principality. Nicholson suggested that the conflict with Tancred led Baldwin to seek

[23] Many post-war historians rely on the rather brief accounts of Fulcher of Chartres and Matthew of Edessa to understand Baldwin and his actions that led to the founding of the County of Edessa from October 1097 through to the following summer. Matthew and Fulcher were both resident in Edessa during the events they record, and their accounts generally confirm each other. Matthew was an adult when the crusaders arrived (born c. 1070) and though he had not yet begun writing his chronicle when these events occurred, his position as a member of the Armenian clergy gave him access to information concerning current political events. Fulcher was Baldwin's chaplain and accompanied him throughout his time in Edessa and composed his chronicle in 1101. Fulcher, *Historia*, pp. 202-203, Ryan, *History*, p.88. Fulcher subsequently revised the chronicle after 1101 and added a great deal more material. For the argument about the date of composition, see Harold S. Fink's introduction to Ryan, *History*, pp. 18-24. Despite their proximity to these events, Fulcher's account curiously lacks detail about Baldwin's early days in northern Syria, although he discuss other events in delightful detail. It was obvious that Baldwin's sole aim was the seizure of land and power to establish a territorial principality, a desire entirely at variance with his uncompleted crusader vows and his oath to Emperor Alexios to return previously Byzantine territory to him. Fulcher was perhaps reluctant to chronicle this avariciousness.

out new territory.[24] Baldwin's strong army and even stronger ambition, however, would seem to have been sufficient to defend his hard-won (or ill-gotten) gains. Hans Mayer has argued that the death of Baldwin's wife in Marash shortly before his departure effectively ended Baldwin's hopes of an inheritance and left him eager for territory of his own in Syria [25]-- but his wife was not likely to have inherited much anyway, since she had two brothers.[26] If Baldwin did not have a compelling reason to leave Tarsus and enter northern Syria, another in his entourage did. Albert of Aachen credited the idea to a mysterious, and in Albert's eyes, suspicious character—Pancracius, the Latin version of the Armenian name 'Bagrat.'[27] Bagrat was an Armenian who had once been imprisoned by Emperor Alexios in Constantinople, escaped, and joined the crusaders.[28] Although Albert intimated that Bagrat was only an advisor and soldier in Baldwin's service, in reality he wielded extensive influence and power in northern Syria. According to Matthew of Edessa, he had land and castles in the area around Rawandan.[29] His brother Kogh Vasil (Basil the Robber) a cluster of important towns and fortresses west of the Euphrates, including the cities of Raban and Kesoun. Bagrat appeared with his brother as one of the more powerful Armenian leaders in northern Syria in a speech

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[24] Nicholson, *Tancred*, pp. 51-3.

[25] Mayer, *The Crusades*, pp. 48-49.

[26] Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and tr. Marjorie Chibnall, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), vol. III, pp. 128-9, V, 404.

[27] " . . . Baldewinus, cum suis septingentis equitabus divisus, consilio cujusdam Armenici militis, Pancracii nomine, terram Armeniae ingressus, praesidium mirifici operis et roboris, nomine Turbaisel, obsedit." Albert of Aachen, "Historia." *RHC*, III, xvii, p. 350. Pancracius is a latinized version of the Armenian name Bagrat. The latin "p" falls somewhere between the Armenian letters "ben" and "pe"; likewise the latin "g" is somewhere between "gim" and "ken." Thus, Bagrat can be rendered in Latin as Pa(n)cratius. (In modern Armenian the pronunciation of the great Greek philosopher's name, Plato, comes out sounding like "Blado.") Beaumont provides a concise critique of Albert's account, comparing him to other chroniclers. A. A. Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa," in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays*, ed. Louis J. Paetow, (F. S. Crofts & Co, 1928), pp. 101-138.

[28] " . . . a vinculis imperatoris Graecorum elapsum, Nicaeae retinuit . . .," Albert of Aachen, *RHC*, III, xvii, p. 351.

[29] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 370; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 220.

Albert put into the mouth of a defeated Seljuk emir .[30] Here then is a credible source for Baldwin's interest in northern Syria. Bagrat encouraged Baldwin's interest by describing the wealth of the area, the promised co-operation of the local Armenian population, and its location as a gateway to further conquests in Syria and Mesopotamia. He convinced his new friend that northern Syria was the Wild West of the Middle East, where a man quick on the draw and with a friend or two could find all the riches he desired.

Bagrat suggested that Baldwin attack the city and fortress of Tell Bashir, which protected the road between Edessa and Antioch, and was crucial for the control of trade and communication between the coast and the fertile northern Euphrates area. The city sits on the banks of the Sadjur River, a tributary of the Euphrates. Gathering his forces,[31] Baldwin prepared to launch an attack, when to his surprise, the gates were thrown open and the Armenian citizens streamed out to welcome him, having already dispatched the Turkish garrison themselves.[32] Following his easy victory, Baldwin next besieged Rawandan, another important site between Tell Bashir and Antioch. More a fortress than a city, it was built atop a conical hill, creating an ideal defense against siege weapons. In the thirteenth century, Kam āl al-Dīn described it as

> a small castle on the top of a high hill, isolated in its situation. Neither mangonels nor arrows can reach it. At the foot of the hill, there is a small

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[30] "Civitates vero et castella Armeniae Dandronuch et Harunii et Turbaisel et montana Constentini, Armenici principis, et Pancratii, terramque ducis Corrovarsilii, ferro et viribus coacta subdiderunt." Albert, "Historia," *RHC*, IV, vi; p. 393.

[31] Matthew of Edessa, who may well have been a witness of Baldwin's arrival, says that Baldwin left the army with a hundred horseman, but after conquering Turbessel (in Arabic, Tell Bashir) and other fortresses and leaving garrisons there, arrived in Edessa with only sixty knights. Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 278; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 168. Fulcher does not record how many troops Baldwin had when he left the main army at Marash, but says that Baldwin had eighty knights with him when he entered Edessa. Assumably he left some knights behind to defend Tell Bashir and Rawandan. Fulcher, *Historia*, pp. 210-1, Ryan, *History*, p. 90. Albert of Aachen, basing his account on the reports of other crusaders rather than personal experience, reported he left the army with 700, and arrived in Edessa with 200. Albertus, *Historia*, RHC, III, vxii, p. 350; III, xix, p. 352.

[32] "Quod Armenici cives, viri christianae professionis, videntes, consilio clam cum ipso principe Baldewino habito, Turcis expulsis qui arci praeerant, in manus ejus tradiderunt, volentes magis sub christiano duce servire quam sub gentili ditione." Albert of Aachen, *RHC*, III, xvii, p. 350.

> settlement. It is one of the strongest castles, and most favoured spots. A valley runs north and west of the castle, making for a fosse. It contains a permanent river.[33]

Despite its fortifications, Rawandan also fell easily into Baldwin's hands, for the Turkish garrison again fled.[34] Fulcher commented that Baldwin "took many towns by force as well as by strategy,"[35] suggesting that not all cities and fortresses opened their doors willingly; unfortunately he did not give us the details. Baldwin was facing disorganized and scattered military forces theoretically loyal to Ridvan in Aleppo. The Aleppan emir, however, felt far more threatened by his brother ruling in Damascus than by the conquerors of a few small towns of northern Syria, a fact that may explain the pathetic response of the Turkish garrisons to the crusader's attacks.[36]

Baldwin's quick conquest of the area relied not only on the apathy of the Turks, but also on the cooperation of local Armenian forces, who provided military support from the numerous castles and cities in the area. Albert of Aachen mentions two such Armenians, Fer and Nicusus, holders of castles in the area around Tell Bashir.[37] Bagrat likely played an important role in negotiating with local Armenians and organizing the military support they provided to Baldwin. Baldwin established himself in Tell Bashir, while Bagrat took up residence in Rawandan. Albert of Aachen suggested that the Armenian ruled there in

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[33]Quoted in David Morray, "A Medieval Visit to the Castle of Al-Rāwandān," *Anatalolian Studies* XLIII (1993), pp. 137-142. Morray also gives a description of the condition of the castle in 1987. Claude Cahen also has a brief description; *La Syrie du Nord a l'Epoque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, (Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1940), pp. 117-118. The Latin name is Ravenel or Ravendal.

[34] "De quo [Ravenel] Turci, captione Turbaisel exterriti, fugisse referuntur et abisse." Albert of Aachen, RHC, III, xvii, p. 351.

[35] " . . . collegit secum milites paucos profectusque est versus Euphraten fluvium et comprehendit ibi plurima castra tam vi quam ingenio." Fulcher, *Historia*, p. 208. Translation from Ryan, *History*, p. 89.

[36] Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, tr. J. Jones-Williams, (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1968), pp. 72-90. See also Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion: the Selchükids," in Kenneth Setton, (ed.) *A History of the Crusades*, vol. I, *The First Hundred Years*, ed. Marshall Baldwin, ch. 5, p. 135-176.

[37] Albert of Aachen, "Historia," *RHC*, III, xviii, p. 351.

Baldwin's name, but it as we have already noted, Bagrat had lands and influence of his own in the area, and likely ruled it under his own authority.

If Bagrat already had land and power in Rawandan, why did he ally himself with Baldwin? Rawandan was not difficult to capture, or defend, from the Turks. The greatest threat actually came from his fellow Armenians. Fer and Nicusus warned Baldwin that Bagrat was conspiring with the Turks.[38] Infuriated by the possibility of treachery against him, Baldwin ordered his ally seized and threatened him with torture unless he surrendered Rawandan.[39] Bagrat ordered his son to give up the fortress without delay.[40] Once Rawandan was safely in his hands, Baldwin ceded the fortress to one of his own knights and released Bagrat. Confusing as this episode is, it exposes the conflicts that erupted between Armenians as a result of the arrival of the crusaders, as well as the antagonisms that existed between rival Armenian leaders.

By the end of 1097, Baldwin had consolidated his position. Latin chroniclers present Baldwin as the lord of a vast territory stretching from the Euphrates almost to Antioch, a vision many historians have accepted. The ease of conquest, and Baldwin's effortless integration into the militarized Syrian world, must have given the Franks the impression that

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[38] "Tandem quidam principes, qui, audita Baldewini industria et nobilitate, cum eo foedus pepigerant, viri Armenici, quorum alter Fer, praepositus Turbaisel, alter Nicusus, nomine dictus est, cujius castra et praesidia spaciosa Turbaisel adjacebant, intellecta perfidia Pancracii quam cum Turcis moliebatur, scientes eum virum noxium et facilem, Baldewino retulerunt, asserentes, si tali viro, et tam facinoroso, Imperatoris perjuro, longius praesidium Ravenel crederet, in brevi terram quam subdiderat posse amittere." Albert of Aachen, "Historia," *RHC*, III, xviii, p. 351.

[39] Such a political maneuver recalls the strategies of *naxarars* in the ninth through eleventh centuries. Placed as they were between the superpowers of the medieval Middle East, Byzantium and the Abbasids, Armenian *naxarars* frequently served as allies of one side or the other. *Naxarar* leaders strategized their alliances to prevent either the Byzantines or the Abbasids from having complete control in Armenian territory. Alliances with outside military forces could also aid *naxarar* dynasties in the pursuit of internal Armenian feuds. Thus the Mamikoneans, traditional allies of the Byzantines, fought not only in Byzantine armies against the Arab enemy, but also mobilized Byzantine forces against their Armenian enemies, the Bagratids. Did Bagrat intend to use a similar strategy and encourage Baldwin to invade northern Syria as a way of defeating his enemies and augmenting his and his brother's local authority?

their leader was the undisputed master of the area. This interpretation, however, confused acceptance of Baldwin's presence in northern Syria by Armenian leaders with acceptance of Baldwin's authority over them. Evidence of the continuing independence of Armenian princes can be found in Arabic sources, which record a raid by Armenians on Tell-Kabbasin near Aleppo in the spring of 1098.[41] Baldwin's direct authority was limited to Tell Bashir and Rawandan; all other castles and towns remained under Armenian control.

Baldwin and T'oros

In early February of 1098, T'oros, the ruler of Edessa[42] sent the bishop of the city and twelve "praefecti" to invite Baldwin to help defend the city from the Turks.[43] The Frank quickly accepted the invitation, excited by the possibility of extending his influence over the largest city in the area. Accompanied by only sixty knights, the crusader arrived on February 20, 1098 after an ambush-ridden three-day journey from Tell Bashir. Fulcher reported that

> When we were passing by the towns of the Armenians, you would have been amazed to see them coming humbly to meet us, carrying crosses and banners, and kissing our feet and garments for the love of God because they had heard we were going to protect them against the Turks under whose yoke they had been long oppressed.[44]

Although this reception delighted Fulcher, the claims of the townspeople were exaggerated. Only fourteen years had elapsed since these areas had been under the control of Philaretos.

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[40] "Qui hanc atrocem membrorum et nervorum discerptionem metuens, in manu Fer litteras filio direxit, , ut praesidium festinato, pro vitae suae et membrorum ejus liberatione, Baldewino redderet." Albert of Aachen, "Historia," *RHC*, III, xviii, p. 351.

[41] Kamal ed-Din, "Extraits de la chronique d'Alep," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Orientaux*, vol. III, pp. 579-580.

[42] It is not clear what title T'oros used. Matthew of Edessa calls T'oros *couropalates* most often, occasionally also using the Armenian word "*իշխանն*" which generally means "leader" or "prince." Fulcher of Chartres honors him with "princeps." Albert of Aachen refers to T'oros as "dux."

[43] Albert of Aachen, *RHC*, III, xix, p. 352.

[44] "Miraremini, cum ante castra Armenorum transiremus et nobis obviam cum crucibus et vexillis pro amore Dei humillime procedentes et pedes nostros et pannos deosculabantur, eo quod audierant nos a

The townspeople's ostentatious procession with crosses and banners, bewailing the horrors of Turkish depredations, indicated that there was not a Turkish garrison or governor in the town. Seljuk tolerance did not extend to sedition. The town was probably governed by a local Christian autocrat whose inability to protect the town from Turkish raids inspired their appeal to Baldwin.

Edessa was also scarcely able to defend itself and had been riven by internal conflict. The urban aristocracy was largely Armenian; their wealth and position derived from extensive rural property. They retained considerable authority in the city whether under the Seljuks or Byzantines. Factions, whose identity and motivations are difficult to uncover beyond Matthew of Edessa's characterization of "leaders" and the "citizens," had been feuding over the leadership of the city for the past twenty years. In 1078, a group of townspeople expelled the dux and murdered the second-in-command so that Basil Apukab, who was besieging the city, could assume control of Edessa. After Basil's death in 1083/84 (one of the few leaders of Edessa in this period to die peacefully), the populace elected Smbat, an Armenian known as "a courageous fighter against the Persians."[45] Although Matthew portrayed Smbat as a popular leader, the aristocracy found him less appealing. When they sought his overthrow, they offered the city to Philaretos.[46] Upon assuming control of Edessa the warlord executed Smbat, but also put to death several from the anti-Smbat faction. Nine years later, Philaretos placed Edessa under the authority of a eunuch; he was murdered by an officer named Parsama, who assumed leadership of the city by popular demand. Hardly a year later, while Edessa was once again under siege by the Turks, the townspeople rose up against Parsama,

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Turcis eos defensuros, sub quorum iugo tamdiu depressi fuerant." Fulcher, *Historia*, I, xiv, 11; p. 212; Ryan, *History*, p. 91.

[45] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 240; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 147.

[46] Matthew called the leader of this plot by the name of Ishkhan, which means "prince" in Armenian, but Matthew stated that he tried to take power away from the Armenians, suggesting he may have been Greek or Syrian. Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 240; Matthew, *Chronicle*, p. 147.

displeased with his defense of the city. Parsama fled to the camp of the besieging enemy but broke his spine while jumping from the walls to escape the rioting citizens. T'oros himself was not popularly chosen, but appointed as the governor of Edessa by Tutush, the Turkish ruler of Damascus. After Tutush's death, he seized control of the city for himself.

At the time of his arrival in Edessa, Baldwin had already been ruling the area around Tell Bashir for six months, and as we have seen, had grown familiar with local factionalized political life. According to Matthew of Edessa, who may have been a witness as a young man, T'oros and the citizenry welcomed Baldwin together. "The townspeople came to meet him and with great rejoicing brought him into the city. The presence of Baldwin brought much happiness to the faithful . . ."[47] The divisive politics of the city soon re-emerged, for T'oros grew jealous of Baldwin's popularity among the citizenry.[48] Baldwin, for his part, rejected T'oros' many gifts of gold, silver and horses, because he saw them as meretricious payments for military service, implying that he was a hired mercenary. Baldwin had no intention of working for anyone's benefit but his own. When he threatened to return to the main crusader army, the panicked citizenry convinced T'oros to adopt him and share power. At this turn of events, Baldwin must have questioned whether T'oros or the citizens had sought his aid—a question the historian must ask as well. Most historians have followed Matthew of Edessa, and placed the initiative in T'oros' hands. A fragment of a twelfth-century Syriac chronicle,

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[47] "Եւ եկեալ Պաղտին ի Յուհա վաքառն ձիաւորով, եւ ելեալ պաշմութիւն քաղաքին ընդ էմ՝նոյա եւ մեծաւ ուրախութեամբ պահանէին զնա ի քաղաքն, եւ եղեւ ուրախութիւն ամենայն հաւատացելոց." Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 278; Matthew, *Chronicle*, p. 168.

[48] "Inducto tam honorifice et gloriose portis civitatis, et hospitio cum suis constituto, dux, qui eum consilio duodecim senatorum ad resistendum adversariis civitate acciverat, indignatus super laudibus et honoribus quos illi populus et senatus exhibuerat, sub arcano cordis sui coepit ei graviter invidere, . . ." Albert of Aachen, *RHC*, III, xx, p. 352.

written by the Jacobite bishop of Edessa, Basil bar Schoumana (1143-1172), and preserved in a thirteenth-century source,[49] was explicit on the role of the citizens.

> When the townspeople heard that the Franks had come and camped in the district of Antioch, they asked him [T'oros] to send for help from the Frankish soldiers to guard the city against the Turks. Theodore [T'oros] did not agree to this. But seeing that he could not defy the townsmen, and that they would send for them [the Franks] against his will, he pretended to agree though he was not really pleased at their coming.[50]

Godfrey sent his brother, who turned out to be the help the citizens desired, but T'oros feared. Baldwin thus may have been well aware that his presence in the city was welcomed by a portion of the citizenry, but not by T'oros.

Reluctant though T'oros may have been to share power with Baldwin, he may also have hoped that the crusader would aid him against his populist rivals. Two years earlier, he had bolstered his military strength through an alliance with a Turkish prince, Al-Faraj. The Turk had his own motives for trying to gain control of Edessa; his family already ruled much of Anatolia.[51] T'oros and Al-Faraj did not remain allies long; the Greek poisoned his erstwhile

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[49] J.-B. Chabot, *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon Ad Annum Christi 1234 Pertinens*, (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1953), vol. 82, Tom. 37, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium; Scriptores Syri*, vol. II, text This publication is an anastatic reproduction of a volume published by Chabot in 1916 under the same title, series III, t. XV, text. A third volume published in the same series under the same title, labeled vol. 354/t. 154 (1974) contains a French translation by Albert Abouna. The chronicle is also partially translated into English by A. S. Tritton and H. A. R. Gibb, "The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1933). For a discussion of the author twelfth-century material, Basil bar Schoumana, see J.-B. Chabot, *Littérature syriaque*, (Paris: Librairie Bloud & Gay, 1934), p.122, pp. 129-130; G. Dédéyan, review of *Ananun Edesac'i, Žamanakagrut'yun (Chronicle of the Anonymous of Edessa)*, by Lewon H. Ter-Petrosyan, in *Revue des études arméniennes* n. s. 17 (1983), pp. 658-662.

[50] "... ..." *Anonymi auctoris*, p. 56; French tr. p. 41. Tritton , "The First and Second Crusades," *JRAS*, p. 70. (Due to the difficulties of printing Syriac texts, I am only able to print the first line). Michael the Syrian similarly claimed that T'oros originally requested help from Godfrey, who then sent Baldwin as his substitute. *Chronique*, vol. IV, p. 587; tr. vol. III. XV, vii, pp. 183-4.

[51] Al-Faraj was a grandson of the Seljuk general Kutulmish. Kutulmish was a cousin of the Seljuk Sultan Toghril, who had entered Baghdad to rule at the caliph's invitation in the 1050's. Kutulmish's son Sulaiman established the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum, which ruled territory from Nicaea to Antioch before the First Crusade. See Claude Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, pp. 72-90.

supporter in order to protect his own life.[52] The obvious parallels between Baldwin and Al-Faraj suggest that T'oros considered the crusader a potential ally, although it might also indicate that the Greek was all too aware of the hazards of such an alliance. T'oros had time to prepare for the arrival of the crusaders--they had sent a letter, probably after the capture of Nicaea, to T'oros and other princes, announcing their imminent arrival and doubtless asking for support.[53]

T'oros: Greek or Armenian?

Several historians have suggested that T'oros was unpopular because he belonged to the imperial Orthodox Church, rather than the monophysite Armenian church.[54] The assumption that Armenian and Syriac monophysites were necessarily hostile towards anyone who was Melkite ignores the complex social and religious interaction of northern Syria. Furthermore, the idea that T'oros was a Chalcedonian Armenian is itself problematic. Contrary to modern historians, who have uniformly concluded that T'oros was Armenian, twelfth-century sources refer to him as a Greek. Matthew of Edessa frequently refers to him as a Roman prince--"ishkan Horomots," in Armenian-- or as *couropalates*, a Byzantine court title.[55] True, these denominations may only point to his past political status in the Byzantine world, not to his ethnicity. However, Matthew specifically indicated the Armenian

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[52] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 270; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 163; Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, vol. III, XV, p. 179.

[53] "Զայս ծանուալ ազգ. արարեալ իշխանին Ռուհայոյ Թորոսի եւ մեծ իշխանին Հայոց Կոստանդին որդին Ռուբենայ . . ." Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 276; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 166.

[54] "This [being Greek Orthodox] made him unpopular with his own subjects who were Monophysites belonging to the Armenian Church," Mayer, *The Crusades*, p. 49. "They [the Edessans] disliked him for being a member of the Orthodox Church and a titular official of the Empire." Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), vol. I, p. 206. It has been assumed that belonging to the imperial orthodox faith of the Byzantine emperors, rather than to the autonomous Armenian church, was intolerable to the largely Armenian and Syriac monophysite population of Edessa. Indeed, the sources do not specify T'oros' religious affiliation.

background of other lords of northern Syria.[56] His failure to so designate T'oros is telling. A Frankish eye-witness described T'oros as a Greek,[57] while a late twelfth-century Syriac chronicle called him the son of "the Greek Hetom."[58] Even William of Tyre named T'oros a Greek.[59]

Modern historians have assumed that "Greek" indicated that T'oros was a Melkite, and his name, conspicuously Armenian, announced his ethnic background. Recent research, however, has pointed out that medieval ideas of identity and ethnicity were linked to language and culture, not descent.[60] The label "Greek," therefore, might refer either to T'oros' language, culture, religious affiliation, or some combination of these. Furthermore, he was only called "T'oros" in Armenian and Latin sources; Syriac chroniclers referred to him as Theodoros, a fine Greek name, which suggests that T'oros is simply the Armenian version of that name.[61] In an area with several different linguistic communities, it is not surprising to see his name written in different forms.

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[55] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 266; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 160.

[56] For example, he specifically named Constantine of Gargar and Constantine of Vahka as Armenians. Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, pp. 276, 278; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 166, 168.

[57] "Quoniam a Turcis se defendere nequibat, volebat Graecus ille et se et terram suam ab ipso Balduino defendi, quem et milites suos bellatores fortissimos esse audierat." Fulcher, *Historia*, p. 210; Ryan, *History*, p. 90.

[58] Michel the Syrien, *Chronique*, vol. IV, p. 580; tr. vol. III; xv, iv, pp. 173-4. Matthew of Edessa also recorded T'oros' father's name as Het'om. Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 266; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 160. The only Hetum we know from this period is the son of Oshin, yet nothing links T'oros to Oshin.

[59] Willermus Tyrensis, "Historia rerum partibus transmarinis gestarum," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. I, IV, II, p. 155, translated in *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, tr. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), vol. I, p. 190.

[60] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 197-220. It in the later Middle Ages, Bartlett points out, that blood becomes an important determinant of ethnicity, pp. 236-242.

[61] His father's name, Het'um is a cipher. Although exclusively Armenian, there are so few recorded individuals bearing the name that it is impossible to determine its ethnic origin or linguistic implications. The only other occurrences of this name are members of the Armenian Hethumid family, who maintained close contact with the Byzantines throughout the twelfth century.

Having superficially resolved their differences through Baldwin's adoption, T'oros sent his "son" to attack Samosata, a city on the Euphrates north of Edessa, ruled by a Turkish emir named Balduk. The latter's raids had devastated the Edessan economy; tribute and hostages were the price of temporary peace. But Baldwin had already fled from Balduk's forces before he arrived in Edessa; Fulcher recalled how

> when the Turks who were in the fortified town of Samosata heard this [Baldwin's invitation to come to Edessa], they set ambushes for us on the way through which they thought we might go. But on the following night a certain Armenian carefully sheltered us in his castle . . . we hid there for two days.[62]

Neither the Edessans nor Baldwin could defeat Balduk alone. The combined strength of Baldwin and his knights, the urban militia of Edessa, and the troops of Constantine, the Armenian leader of Gargar, had a greater chance of success. The initially successful attack on Samosata only went wrong when the Frankish and Armenian troops fell to pillaging. The Turks took advantage of their disorganization and drove them off, turning the Christian victory into a rout.[63]

Only fifteen days after he welcomed Baldwin to the city,[64] T'oros died at the hands of an angry mob, which subsequently demanded Baldwin as their ruler. Fulcher of Chartres struggled to exonerate Baldwin from suspicion of any involvement in the plot against his

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[62] "Quod cum audissent qui in Samosate oppido forti habitant, insidias nobis in via, per quam nos ituros arbitrabantur, praetenderunt. Sed cum nocte alia quidam Armenus in castello suo diligenter nos hospitatus esset . . . quapropter duobus diebus illic delituimus." Fulcher, *Historia*, p. 211, Ryan, *History*, p. 90.

[63] "*Յայնժամ՛ միաբան յարևթ մեռեալ ամենայն զօրք քրիստոսէից. եւ տեսեալ զօրացն Թուրքաց եղեալ երեք հարիւր ձիաւոր ի վերայ նոցա եւ յաղթեցին ամենայն ցորացն եւ արարին զՓռանդն փախստական եւ զամենայն գաւառացիքն.*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 280; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 168-9. Albert, on the other hand, attributes Baldwin's defeat to the strength of the Turks and the "effeminate Armenian citizens." "Nam illic infinita manus civium Armenicorum effeminatorum, incaute et segniter dimicantium, . . ." Albert, *Historia*, III, xxii; pp. 353-354. This slur on the Armenian martial character is quite out of character for Albert specifically and for Frankish chroniclers generally. The Armenians, in Latin historiography were described as warlike and aggressive, in contrast to

adopted father, insisting that "the citizens wickedly plotted to slay their prince because they hated him and to elevate Baldwin to the palace to rule the land. Baldwin and his men were much grieved because they were not able to obtain mercy for him."[65] Matthew of Edessa, on the other hand, believed that the assassins, a group of forty citizens, approached Baldwin and got his approval before the murder. On March 7, 1098, the plotters incited the town to rise against T'oros, and pillage the homes of his officers. The enraged citizens seized the outer walls of the city, while T'oros held the inner citadel. The next day he reluctantly turned it over to the rebels with the agreement that he and his wife be allowed to leave the city and join her father, Gabriel of Melitene. Although Baldwin and the citizens swore an oath on holy relics not to harm T'oros, the mob struck him down with swords as soon as he emerged from the citadel. Matthew does not record the fate of T'oros' wife.[66] The crowd then acclaimed Baldwin the new leader of Edessa.

Matthew again linked urban factionalism to T'oros' overthrow, and revealed his sympathy for the aristocrats. Matthew generally defended Edessa's aristocratic leaders and denounced those who had popular support, such as Parsama. Matthew labeled T'oros' officers as "*իշխան*," (ishkan) meaning "leaders" or "princes," thus indicating their elite status. Matthew's praise of T'oros suggests that he too had links to the aristocratic leadership of the city. He was a man, in Matthew's estimation, who "because of his ingenious sagacity, skillful inventiveness and vigorous strength, he was able to deliver Edessa from tribute and service to

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the Greeks, who were often characterized as effeminate, weak, sly and poor fighters. Fulcher does not mention the attack on Samosata, perhaps because it ended so disastrously.

[64] Fulcher, *Historia*, pp. 213-4; Ryan, *History*, p. 91.

[65] "cumque per dies XV illic moram fecissemus, machinati sunt cives urbis principem suum sceleste occidere et Balduinum ad dominandum terrae in palatio sublimare. odio enim eum habebant. Dictum est et factum est. unde Balduinus et sui contristati sunt valde, eum pro eo indulgentiam impetare nequissent." Fulcher, *Historia*, pp. 213-4; Ryan, *History*, p. 91.

[66] "*Իսկ յայսմ աւուրք ազք քառասունք երեն միաբանեալք ի խորհուրդն Յուդայի եւ գիշերի գնացին առ կոմսն Պաղտինն, այն որ էր եղբայր Կոնդոփրէի կոմսին, եւ միաբանեցին զնա ի չար*

the vicious and cruel Muslims."[67] This encomium, however, was more flattery than fact. T'oros maintained only tentative control of Edessa and its surrounding countryside. A Turkish attack on the city in 1096 was nearly successful—troops breached the walls of the city—and defeat was averted only by the arrival of rival Turkish leaders. The same year, T'oros attempted to capture a castle close by the city, and failed.[68] It was only under Baldwin that the city was adequately defended from raids. T'oros' unpopularity may have derived from his military failures.

The overthrow of T'oros succeeded with the help of Constantine, the Armenian ruler of the town of Gargar, approximately eighty miles north of Edessa. As we have already seen with Bagrat, local Armenian warlords were quick to encourage outside forces to attack neighboring princes Because leaders such as T'oros and Constantine had come to power only in the previous twenty-five years, the close familial, economic and political relationships that might give them common interests had not developed. For the most part, the Armenian princes thought, not as an aristocracy with common interests, but as an autocracy, where there was only room for one. In T'oros' death, Constantine saw not the possibility of his own fate (he died in Frankish captivity in 1116), but the elimination of a rival.

խորհուրդս իւրեանց եւ խոստացան տալ զՈւռհա ի ձեռն ոորա, եւ նա հաւանեցաւ չար խորհրդոց նոցա." Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 280; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 169-70.

[67] *"Իսկ յորժամ ելին կոմսն Պաղտինն ի Ուռհա, յայնժամ յարեան ազգ նենգաւորք եւ չարախորհուրդք եւ արարին միաբանութիւն ընդ կոմսն, վասն զի սպանցէն զԹորոս կուրապաղատն զոր ոչ վայել էր գործոց էրախտեաց նորա, վասն զի ի ձեռն Հայնտրեղ իմաստութեան նորա եւ արուեստաւոր Հաստատութեան եւ բուռն զօրութեան եղեւ ազատեալ Ուռհա ի հարկատրութենէ եւ ի ծառայութենէ չար եւ դառնացեալ ազգին Տանկայ:"* Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 280; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 169.

[68] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 268; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 163.

Ambiguously Armenian: Baldwin and Edessa

Baldwin's authority in Edessa was circumscribed by his ambiguous position, as neither a conqueror nor a member of the community that he was leading. He brought with him only sixty Frankish knights and therefore, depended militarily on the support of the local militia and politically on the support of the city council. He therefore left undisturbed the Armenian administration of the city and accepted the symbols and rituals that articulated Armenian culture and values. During the revolt against T'oros, Baldwin swore an oath on the Holy Cross of Varag not to harm his adopted father. Although he could have had his own chaplain Fulcher administer the oath with his own relics,[69] he agreed to use relics that symbolized the holy Armenian Christianity of Edessa. According to a tenth-century source, the cross "had been brought to the mountain of Varag [in greater Armenia], by the holy lamb and royal virgin Hrip'sime and revealed by God."[70] The martyrdom of Hrip'sime in the early fourth century was traditionally remembered as one of the events that led to the conversion of Armenia. Why the relic was brought to Edessa is unclear, Matthew of Edessa recorded its triumphal entry into the city in 1092-1093: "the Holy Cross of Varag and the Icon of the Holy Virgin Mary were brought to the city of Edessa, and so there was great rejoicing among the nation of Abgar. Deeply moved, all the inhabitants of Edessa collectively went forth to receive these holy objects and then brought them into the city with great pomp."[71] The presence of these relics and others in Edessa demonstrated the importance of the city as a center of Armenian

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[69] Many crusaders had relics that they either brought with them or acquired in Constantinople. Robert of Flanders carried an arm of St. George, acquired in Byzantium, with him. "Narratio quomodo relliquiae martyris Georgii ad nos Aquicinenses pervenerunt," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1895), vol. V, pp. 248-252. See also Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the idea of Crusading*, (London: Athlone Press, 1986), pp. 93-5.

[70] Thomas Artsruni, *History of the House of the Artsrunik'*, tr. Robert W. Thomson, (Detroit: Wayne State Press, 1985), p. 369. Hrip'sime helped convert Armenia in the early fourth century.

[71] "Յայսմ ամի Վարագայ սուրբ Խաչն եւ պատկեր սրբոյ Աստուածածնին բերան ի քաղաքին Ռուհա, որ եղեւ ուրախութիւն մեծ ամենայն Աբգարու. եւ ղղդեալ միաբանութեամբ ամենայն քաղաքն ելեալք մեծաւ

culture, religiosity and politics, but also emphasized communal ties to historic Armenia, recognizing that the Armenian community as a nation in exile. Baldwin's oath, however traduced, symbolically recognized the primacy of the Armenian tradition in Edessa, surpassing local Jacobite Christianity or ideas of Byzantine suzerainty, and also signaled his own willingness to live within that cultural and political world.

Baldwin was not satisfied simply to acknowledge the importance of the Armenian community in Edessa; he wanted to be able to mobilize it militarily and financially for his own purposes. T'oros had adopted Baldwin at the urging of the citizens, who sought to insure Baldwin's fidelity to the city through this relationship, while T'oros also hoped (futilely) to ensure the crusader's loyalty to him. In the adoption ceremony, a bare-chested Baldwin was enfolded within the cloak or shirt of T'oros.[72] Baldwin thus became not only a part of an Edessan family, but symbolically became one in the flesh with his foster-father. Both Baldwin and the Edessans could enjoy the pleasant fiction that Baldwin was now linked to them by familial ties and oaths, an 'Armenian' in everything but name.

Once his adopted father died, perhaps in service to Baldwin's ambitions, he found another social relationship to foster ties to the Armenian community he ruled—marriage. In the summer of 1098, Baldwin married an unnamed daughter of an Armenian prince,

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ուրախութեամբ էառ յաւաջ՛տրտս զնա ի քաղաքն մեծաւ հանդիսիւք::" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 258-60; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 157.

[72] "Dux quidem duodecim praefectorum et omnium concivium constantiam et benivolantiam erga Baldewinum videns, eorum nolens volens petitioni satisfecit, ac Baldewinum filium sibi fecit adotivum, sicut mos regionis et gentis illius habetur, nudo pertori suo illum astringens, et sub proximo carnis suae indomento semel hunc investiens, fide utrinque data et accepta." Albert of Aachen, *RHC*, III, xxi, p. 353. This ceremony has few parallels in Greek or Armenian sources. Adoption and fosterage, however, were a common custom among the *naxarar* clans of Armenia. Nobody, however, described the form of these adoptions, so we cannot determine whether this was in fact a traditional Armenian ritual. See Robert Bedrosian, "*Dayeakut'iwn* in Ancient Armenia," *Armenian Review* 37 (1984), pp. 23-47. Travelers to the Causasuses in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries report "milkrelationships," adoptions between two adults, usually of the opposite sex, wherein the adoptee placed the nipple of the woman who was adopting him in his mouth. See Alexander Grigolia, "Milkrelationship in the Caucasus," *Bedi kartlisa* 41-42 (1962), pp. 147-167.

Taphnuz.[73] The benefits for Baldwin were numerous. He received a generous dowry of sixty thousand bisants,[74] and became the heir of all Taphnuz's lands. Taphnuz was the brother of a certain Constentinus, who controlled strong castles in the mountains—probably Constantine of Gargar.[75] If Taphnuz hoped to benefit from the position of his new son-in-law, he was sorely disappointed. Fearing Baldwin's greed, he fled Edessa not long after the marriage. It is curious that these details, which reflect so poorly on Baldwin's character, came from the observations of a fellow Frank. Matthew of Edessa, on the other hand, did not comment on the count's marriage or on the fate of his father-in-law. In 1099-1100, a severe famine struck Edessa; Matthew noted that

> many said that this was a judgement from God because of the iniquitous death of the *couropalates* T'oros. The inhabitants had sworn on the cross and the Gospels not to take T'oros's life and yet had disavowed their oath by cruelly killing him and thrusting his head on the end of a pole, while heaping all sorts of insults upon him; finally they had thrown his body in front of the Church of the Holy Savior, built by the holy apostle Thaddeus. Because of all this, the lord God brought this affliction upon the people of Abgar.[76]

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[73] "Idem vero Baldewinus, sic de die in diem bellis et triumphis magis ac magis accrescens, ex consilio duo decim praefectorum civitatis, uxorem nobilissiam de genere Armenico magnificis et legalibus duxit nuptiis, filiam cujusdam principis et fratris Constentini, nomine Taphnuz, qui in montanis praesidia et munitiones plurimas obtinebat, quorum universorum heredem Baldewinum constituit." Albert, *Historia*, III, xxxi; p.361. Many historians have named her "Arda," but there does not seem to be a textual basis for this name. See Ryan, *History*, p. 218, n. 4.

[74] "Bisant" is the western name for the Byzantine *nomisma*, a gold coin introduced by emperor Alexios weighing approximately 4.55 grams.

[75] Historians have often concluded that this man was Constantine of Vahka, and that Taphnuz was a Latin misspelling of T'oros, his brother's name. If so, the marriage linked Baldwin with an Armenian family who won the Armenian leadership lottery, becoming the kings of Cilician Armenia in 1198. However, Costentinus can alternatively be identified with Constantine of Gargar. Matthew of Edessa described the role that Constantine of Gargar played in the revolt against T'oros; Albert similarly mentions the participation of a "Constentinus de montanis" in that revolt. Albert, *Historia*, III, xxii; p. 354. The close co-operation between Baldwin and Constantine of Gargar in both the attack in Samosata and the revolt against T'oros would suggest that this Constantine was the one to whom Albert referred. Rüdt-Collenberg strangely suggests that Constantine of Gargar is T'oros' brother and a member of the Hethumid family, but I find no textual support for this claim. Wipertus-Hugo Rüdt-Collenberg, *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans: the structure of the Armeno-Cilician dynasties*, (Paris, Klincksieck, [1963]),p. 78.

[76] "*եւ բազումք ասացին, թէ այս Աստուածոյ է դատաստանս վասն անիրաւ մահուն Թորոսի կուրապաղատին, որք խաչիւ եւ աւետարանով երդուան նմա, եւդարձեալ ուրացեալք լինէին եւ սպանին զնա չարաչար եւ զգլուխն ի ձող ցցեալ բազում հայհոյութիւնեամբ եւ ձգեալ զնա առաջի եկեղեցւոյն, որ ասի Ս. Փրկիչ, զոր շինեաց սուրբ առաքեալն Թադէոս, եւ վասն այսորիկ եած Տէր Աստուած զեղումիւնս զայս ի վերայ տանն Աբգարու..*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 290; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 175.

One might expect that Baldwin, who Matthew indicated knew of the plot to kill T'oros, might also be singled out as a cause of the famine. Yet Matthew was content to blame the community as a whole. His chaplain, Fulcher of Chartres, similarly made no comment on his patron's behavior.

Bagrat and Godfrey of Bouillon

Baldwin's ascent to power, however, did meet with Armenian resistance, thought again we must rely on a Latin chronicle for the story. The crusader's erstwhile friend and now enemy, Bagrat, remained on his lands around Rawandan, sitting astride communication and trade routes between Baldwin in Edessa and the crusaders in Antioch. Once Baldwin had consolidated his authority in Edessa, he began to provide food, money, and arms to the rest of the crusader army besieging Antioch.[77] His Armenian allies did the same, eager to please their new leader and to aid in the capture of Antioch. According to Albert of Aachen, Nicusus sent a beautifully-decorated tent to Baldwin's brother, Godfrey. Bagrat stole the tent *en route*, and sent it to Bohemund as a present from himself instead. When Godfrey learned of the robbery, he demanded Bohemund return the tent. With the surliness of Achilles, Bohemund refused. Godfrey threatened to take the tent back by force, and peace and amity were restored in the crusader camp only when the leaders of the crusade intervened and convinced a grudging Bohemund to return the tent. The 'affair of the tent' had a deliberate quality to it; by stealing the tent from one crusader and giving it to another Bagrat intended that Baldwin

[77] "Dum haec longo tempore indigentia magis ac magis accresceret, et plurimi prae imminutione rerum necessariarum desperarent, Baldewinus, que Edissam vel Rohas civitatem dux promotus subjugaverat, plurima talenta auri et argenti fratri suo, duci Godefrido, Roberto Flandriensi, Roberto Nortmannorum comiti, Reimundo, ceterisque praepotentibus, per Gerhardum, nimium sibi familiarem , misit, ad hanc restaurandam defectionem quam tales et tam nobiles compertus est tolerare." Albert, *Historia*, IV, ix; p. 395.

would know what he had done. Whether or not he intended to provoke discord in the crusader camp, his tactic had the effect of further alienating Bohemund, uncle of Tancred, from Baldwin.

In August of 1098, Godfrey escaped the pestilence that was ravaging Antioch by retreating with his knights to the relative calm of Tell Bashir and Rawandan by invitation of his brother. Further conflict with Bagrat, whose lands were adjacent to Rawandan, was perhaps inevitable—Baldwin may have even asked his brother to deal with the Armenian. Godfrey soon accused Bagrat, somewhat strangely, of mistreating Armenian monks. Even worse, he had robbed servants carrying money from his brother. In response to these outrages, Godfrey burned down one fortress of Bagrat's and another belonging to his brother, and as a final insult, he blinded twenty of Bagrat's knights.[78] The accusation that Bagrat attacked groups of Armenian monks sounds like Frankish slander, although the attacks on Baldwin's messengers fit a pattern of small-scale raids. The extremity of Godfrey's response indicates that the crusaders considered Armenian hostility to undermine the rationale of their mission. Just as the heretic is worse than he who never believed, so too Christian resistance to the crusade was a challenge that deserved the harshest punishment.

Bagrat was not the only Armenian to object to the increasing number of Franks in northern Syria. Other crusaders joined Baldwin in Edessa after the conquest of Antioch, expanding his mounted forces from the original sixty knights. The city councilors grew resentful of the large number of Franks coming to Edessa and the prominent role they were assuming in the city and surrounding areas. "It displeased them excessively that they had

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[78] "Hanc, omni virtute instans, oppignat repentino assultu; expugnatam flamma et igne humi coegit procumbere, viginti ex militibus quos in ea reperit ejus jussu excaecatis, in retributione et vindicta superbiae ac injuriarum quas sibi Pancratius Christique pauperibus inferre praesumpsit." Albert, *Historia*, V, xiv; p. 441.

placed him [Baldwin] in authority over them as duke and lord of the city."[79] As they had given Baldwin the authority to rule them, they now decided to take it away. In December 1098, they sent a message to the Turks, offering them the city. One of the councilors, however, broke ranks and alerted Baldwin to the plans of the others. The Frank threw the conspirators in jail and confiscated their possessions, but for the time being left them their lives. Because of his extensive generosity to his brother and many of the other crusaders, Baldwin found that he was out of money. Hearing that the captive councilors still had considerable wealth hidden in outlying castles and estates, he offered to exchange their freedom for the money; an offer they enthusiastically accepted. Baldwin refused, however, to accept money from the two ringleaders, whom he ordered blinded. He cut off the noses, hands or feet of the others and expelled them all from the city, a method of punishment with evoked Byzantine punishments rather than those of eleventh-century Boulogne.[80] The ferocity of Baldwin's reaction terrified his new father-in-law, Taphnuz, who fled the city and retreated to a castle in the mountains, refusing to return to the city for fear that Baldwin would kill him for the unpaid balance of the dowry. Albert's closing words concerning this episode sound an ominous note: "From that day on, Duke Baldwin became feared in the city of Rohas, and his name was known to the ends of the earth, being famed for his power."[81]

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[79] ". . . nimium poenituit eos quod Baldewinum ducem ac dominum civitate praefecissent." Albert, *Historia*, V, xvi; p. 442.

[80] "Duorum tantum munera refutavit, quos nimium culpatos et reos traditionis jussit excaecari. Plures vero vulgi, consocios sceleris, naribus amputatis, manibus, aut pedibus, condempnatos urbe jussit expelli." Albert, *Historia*, V, xvii; p. 443. For punishment, see Nicole Gonthier, *Le châtiment du crime au moyen âge*, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1998), p. 145.

[81] "Ab illo die deinceps cux Baldewinus in civitate Rohas factus est metuendus, et nomen ejus usque ad extremum terrae divulgatum est, virtute praeclarus existens." Albert, *Historia*, V, xvii; p. 443.

Conclusion

Contrary to the characterizations of modern historians, Armenians did not whole-heartedly join the crusader enterprise. Frankish chroniclers complained that Armenians supplied Antioch with food while the city was under siege by the crusaders, and that they served as spies for the Turks.[82] Armenian leaders such as Oshin co-operated with the newcomers only in order to preserve their own power. Bagrat, after a brief alliance, resisted crusader influence whenever possible, and T'oros of Edessa allied with the crusaders only under pressure from the citizens of Edessa. Among the urban populations, however, the Franks were welcomed with more enthusiasm, but often as a harbinger of the return of Byzantine authority, rather than for the Franks themselves.

Despite the conflicts and misunderstandings of the early years, the Frankish domination of northern Syria had an enormous impact on both local Christians and on the Latins. The period of Baldwin's rule over Edessa was short but crucial for the history of the Latin East. In October of 1100, Baldwin left the city to become the first king of Jerusalem, succeeding his brother Godfrey who had only had the title of 'advocate of the Holy Sepulcher.' His eighteen years as king established the kingdom of Jerusalem on a firm basis. It was in northern Syria that Baldwin first learned how to govern amid a diverse population of Armenians, Greeks, Jacobites and Muslims. But the history of Edessa is not merely a footnote to the longer and better-studied history of Jerusalem. The deliberate ignoring of conflict by local chroniclers reveals the inadequacies of current models of ethnic and religious interaction. The harshest critics of Baldwin's treatment of the local population came from Albert of Aachen, a Latin chronicler who never even came to Syria, even though several other chronicles were written locally. Albert's description of events and places were too detailed

[82] See the appendix for a detailed discussion of the chroniclers' perception of Armenians.

and accurate to dismiss his account as unreliable; instead, we must explain why Fulcher of Chartres and Matthew of Edessa chose not to discuss these events. Despite the opportunity to do so, Matthew never constructed an image of the 'Frank.' Although Baldwin appeared greedy even in Latin sources, this characterization did not become a feature of Armenian depictions of Franks, as it did in Byzantium. 'Frank' and 'Armenian' did not become essentialized. To fully explore the contingent meaning placed on Frankish relations with local Christians, we will have to examine the rhetoric of conflict, the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 3

Modus Vivendi: Establishing Co-Existence, 1100-1118

> He [Baldwin] gradually and successively overthrew the Armenian princes, dealing with them more harshly than with the Persians. Moreover, he harassed those Armenian princes who were still free from the domination of the ferocious Turks, and with unheard of cruelty compelled all of them to go into exile.[1]

Having listed the tortures inflicted upon the princes expelled by Baldwin, Matthew sighed, "We would like to write further about their [the Franks] many malicious deeds, but dare not, since we are under their authority."[2] With this mournful lament, Matthew of Edessa created a lachrymose history of invading Franks victimizing proud noble Armenians that was in startling contrast to his earlier depiction of the Franks as noble fighters against the Muslims. For many historians, Matthew's perspective has been the only available narrative to discuss Frankish relationships with local Christians in this period. Yet Syriac chronicles and even Matthew told a story parallel to the tragic one of the Armenian princes, a history of continued cooperation between the Frankish leadership and urban Christian communities. This chapter will examine the narrative of both stories, and through an exploration of the resources and the limitations of the sources, will explain how cooperation co-existed with the struggle described above.

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[1] "*ահա որ մի առ մի քակեաց զամենայն իշխանսն Հայոց կարգաւ առաւել քան զտունն Պարսից եւ այսպիսի օրինակաւս Հալածականս արար զիշխանսն Հայոց, զայն որ մնացեալ էին ի կատաղի զգէն Թուրքաց:*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 368; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 220.

Establishing Frankish Authority

When Baldwin I inherited the throne of Jerusalem in 1100 and appointed his cousin Baldwin of Bourcq[3] to succeed him as the ruler of Edessa, it was something akin to an existential crisis for the budding Frankish principality. Inheriting the county of Edessa must have sounded promising to Baldwin of Bourcq (hereafter known as Baldwin II), but what exactly did he inherit? Baldwin I had governed the area through personal relationships established on the battlefield and in *realpolitik* encounters with Armenian lords and urban communities. Baldwin II inherited only the vague, and perhaps unfulfillable promise, that those who had been loyal to his cousin would also be loyal to him. It is possible that Baldwin II had not even visited Edessa before his accession and knew nothing of the style of governance there.[4]

Baldwin I's ability to govern had relied on three relationships. The first was his relationship with the urban population of the city of Edessa. Their support during the coup against T'oros was the basis of Baldwin I's legitimacy. The second relationship was with the Frankish knights and soldiers who had settled in northern Syria. Having fought together during the First Crusade, Baldwin I could rely on their loyalty, and the mounted knights were the core of Edessa's small military force. In 1100, however, Baldwin I needed their support in Jerusalem, so an army of two hundred knights and seven hundred footmen accompanied

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[2] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 370; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 221.

[3] Baldwin of Bourcq was Baldwin of Boulogne's first cousin-once-removed. His paternal grandmother was Ida of Boulogne, aunt to Baldwin of Boulogne.

[4] As far as the sources allow a reconstruction of his actions, he had continued with the rest of the crusader army to Jerusalem after the capture of Antioch. He joined Tancred in capturing Bethlehem (Fulcher, *Historia*, I, xxv, p. 278; Ryan, *History*, p. 115), and was wounded during the siege of the Holy City. (Albert, *Historia*, VI, iv, p. 468). He then returned north and took service with Bohemund in Antioch. (Albert, *Historia*, *RHC*, VII, xxxi, p. 527; Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 294; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 177; Radulfus, *Gesta Tancredi*, CXLIII, p. 706.)

him when he left,[5] stripping Edessa of much of its defensive force. The third relationship was with the rulers of the towns and cities in neighboring areas. Some of these areas were under Baldwin's direct control, such as Tell Bashir, but autonomous Armenian princes ruled the greater part. Baldwin I, through his military abilities, had won grudging respect from these warlords, yet they trusted him no more than they trusted one another.

Baldwin II thus received only his cousin's recommendation that he should rule Edessa—his predecessor's relationships were personal, not institutional, and therefore were not transferable without the consent of those governed. To be sure, Baldwin II did not encounter violent resistance when he arrived in Edessa, suggesting that at least the citizens of Edessa were willing to accept him. Seven years later, Edessans reacted angrily when other Franks took control of Edessa while Baldwin II was in captivity, accusing them of taking what rightfully belonged to their lord.[6] This loyalty to the count was indicative not only of Baldwin's success in establishing his authority, but also shows the degree to which local Christian communities, in a city where power was previously granted through election, appointment or conquest, had internalized the Frankish concept of political authority as a personal, and increasingly transferable possession.

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[5] Baldwin I had arrived in Edessa with only eighty knights in the spring of 1098. Clearly in the intervening two years he had augmented his forces, attracting knights from the service of other crusaders at Antioch. Fulcher Carnotensis, *Historia Hiersolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer, (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätbuchhandlung, 1913), II, i, p. 353; translated in *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, tr. Frances Rita Ryan, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), p. 137. Albert of Aachen claims that Baldwin departed with four hundred knights and one thousand footsoldiers. Albertus Aquensis, "Historia Hierosolymitana," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades; Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. IV, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879) VII, xxi, p. 527.

[6] J.-B. Chabot, *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon Ad Annum Christi 1234 Pertinens*, (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1953), vol. 82, Tom. 37, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium; Scriptores Syri*, vol. II, text, p. 70 This publication is an anastatic reproduction of a volume published by Chabot in 1916 under the same title, series III, t. XV, text. A third volume published in the same series under the same title, labeled vol. 354/t. 154 (1974) contains a French translation by Albert Abouna. The chronicle is also partially translated into English by A. S. Tritton and H. A. R. Gibb, "The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1933), p. 80.

Baldwin II, though his authority was accepted by urban Christians, found rural Armenian leaders less amenable to his leadership. Seeking to extend his authority over the smaller towns and strongholds of Syria, he transformed the political landscape by establishing his relatives and supporters as lords, expelling local leaders as Matthew described above. Most crusader scholarship has considered this a feudal system imported wholesale from Europe, or suggested that feudal bonds were stronger in the Latin east than in western Europe because all land was necessarily feudal through conquest.[7] This, however, presumed a system in which only Franks held land, and in which all the land had indeed conquered, rather than integrated through less aggressive measures. The terms 'allodial' and 'feudal' may not be appropriate in northern Syria; as terms defined in a western European context, they presume a particular history and specific context. We do not know what rights to justice, taxation and other administrative perquisites Frankish lords in Syria had. Non-feudal forms of administration may well have survived from the Byzantine period. We do not know what role the city council played in Edessa, or if councils existed in other cities. We have no descriptions of investment ceremonies, nor any accounts of the duties owed to the sovereign that were contingent on land tenure for Edessa. Given the lack of evidence, one may doubt whether the County of Edessa was feudal at all. Furthermore, recent work by Susan Reynolds has pointed out that the term "feudal" has been used to cover such a variety of practices that it is, in her opinion, useless.[8] What the chronicles show is merely the granting of towns, cities and fortresses, and the consequent expectation of military service.

The first grants by the Franks did not dispossess Armenian lords, but their creation, deliberately or not, effectively sidelined Armenian leaders, and by 1116, Frankish policy

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[7] Monique Amouroux-Mourad, *Le Comté d' Edesse*, (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1988), p. 120.

[8] Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

under Baldwin II did seek to deliberately replace Armenians with Frankish lords. Baldwin could more easily demand military aid from Franks who had received land from him than from independent-minded Armenian lords. Jonathan Riley-Smith has pointed out Baldwin II's particular relationship with his maternal kin, the Montlhéry family of northern France, who dominated the crusader world for much of the early twelfth century.[9] Baldwin II's good fortune in inheriting Edessa, and then Jerusalem, was the engine that gave the Montlhéry crusading machine much of its momentum. The count established his Montlhéry cousin, Joscelin of Courtenay, as the lord of Tell Bashir and Rawandan in 1101.[10] This territory was approximately a third of the entire county of Edessa, and the grant immediately made Joscelin one of the most powerful Franks in northern Syria. Joscelin, in return, was fiercely loyal to Baldwin. Another cousin, Galeran of LePuiset, became the lord of al-Bira in 1116. With each of these cousins came more knights and footsoldiers, and further evidence to other relations back in France that their Syrian cousin could make their fortune, attracting still more supporters.

Marriage and Power in the Christian East

Sometime between 1100 and 1101, Baldwin II married an Armenian woman named Morfia.[11] Her father was Gabriel, the Armenian ruler of Melitene, and the marriage was

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[9] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 169-195. The Montlhérys were Baldwin II's mother's relations, while Baldwin of Boulogne and Godfrey of Bouillon were cousins on his father's side. Baldwin slowly transferred control of the county to the Montlhérys, who were not related to the original holder, Baldwin of Boulogne. This culminated in 1118, when Baldwin II gave the county to his Montlhéry cousin, Joscelin of Courtenay.

[10] Joscelin had come to Syria with the disastrous Crusade of 1101. Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and tr. Marjorie Chibnall, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), X, xx; vol. V, p. 325. For the fullest discussion of Joscelin's career and personality, see Robert Lawrence Nicholson, "Joscelyn I, Prince of Edessa," *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* 34, no. 4 (1954).

[11] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, p. 63, translated in Tritton and Gibb, "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, *JRAS*, p. 74-5.

intended to cement an alliance with Baldwin.[12] Melitene's location on the western bank of the Euphrates as it snakes into the Anatolian highlands gave the city control of communications between Syria and eastern Anatolia. It was also the last city under Christian control as one traveled north along the Euphrates River, and was thus a bulwark against the Turks who had settled the Anatolian highlands. The city was under frequent attack by Malik-Ghāzī Gümüshtīgīn ibn-Dānishmend, the Turkish emir of Sivas (Sebasteia).[13] The city had a large Jacobite population which resented Gabriel's political power,[14] which, when added to Melitene's frontier location, left Gabriel in a precarious position. Given that the unfortunate T'oros of Edessa was his son-in-law (who was killed by a mob supported by his supposed foster-son, Baldwin I), Gabriel may have been reluctant to ally with Baldwin I, but had little other choice.

The marriage in the end did little to protect Gabriel; he died in 1101, killed when Malik-Ghāzī stormed Melitene.[15] However, the marriage does show that Baldwin sought an

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[12] Melitene and Edessa had many political ties. The unfortunate T'oros ruled Melitene for a few years before moving to Edessa, and he married another daughter of Gabriel. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*; vol. IV, p. 581; trans. vol. III, XV, iv, pp. 173-4. Gabriel was probably Mekite. Willermus Tyrensis, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, vol. I, *Receuil des historiens des croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1844), I, x, xxiv, p. 437, translated in William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, tr. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), pp. 450-1. Matthew of Edessa mentioned neither the marriage nor Gabriel's faith or ethnicity. Michael the Syrian also called Gabriel a Greek, but whether referred to both religion and language, or just religion is unclear. *Chronique*, XV, VIII, , vol. III, p. 188. Albert of Aachen and Ibn al-Athir simply labeled him an Armenian. Albert, "Historia," VII, XXVII, p. 524.; Ibn al-Athir, "Extrait de la chronique intituleé Kamel-altevarykh," *Receuil des historiens des croisades; Historiens Orientaux*, Vol I, p. 203. Basil bar Schoumana labeled him a Chalcedonian. *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, p. 61; Tritton and Gibb, "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," *JRAS* (1933), p. 74.

[13] Fulcher, *Historia*, I,XXXV, pp. 343-246; Ryan, *History*, p. 135. When Malik-Ghāzī put the city under siege in July of 1100, and Gabriel, offered Bohemund of Antioch control of the city if he would marry his daughter Morfia. Bohemund was captured by Malik-Ghāzī before the marriage could be consummated.

[14] Basil bar Schoumana called Gabriel "the cursed one" for his treatment of Jacobites, and Michael the Syrian reported with satisfaction that, when Gabriel died, his body was thrown to the dogs. *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, p. 63, tr. A. Abouna, vol. II, p. 47 Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, vol. IV, p. 590, tr. vol. III, XV, viii, pp. 188-189.

[15] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, p. 64. Tritton and Gibb, "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," JRAS (1933), p. 75. Michael the Syrian and Ibn al-Athir wrongly believed that Melitene was captured by Malik-Ghāzī immediately following the capture of Bohemund in 1100 (Al-Athir, "Extrait," *RHC; H. Or.* Vol I, p.

alliance that augmented his authority within the local Christian world. Bohemund and Tancred of Antioch arranged marriages with women from the French royal family, seeking closer ties to Europe. Others married the sisters or daughters of fellow crusaders. Baldwin's cousin Joscelin, however, married the daughter of the Armenian Constantine of Vahka, [16] and Galeran of LePuiset married the daughter of Ablgharib, lord of Bira. Other marriages between Franks and Armenians probably took place, the records of which have not survived. Baldwin's marriage had other long-lasting effects. His Armenian wife reigned with him as Queen Morfia of Jerusalem, and their children married into the leading Frankish families of the Levant, and by 1161, his great-granddaughter, Maria of Antioch, was the Byzantine Empress.

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203). Baldwin would not have married Morfia if her father were not still alive. The Syriac and Muslim version of events are therefore incorrect. Fulcher of Chartres and Albert of Aachen indicated that Melitene came under Baldwin I's control following Malik-Ghāzī's raid. (Fulcherius, *Historia*, I, XXXV, 6; Ryan, *History*, p. 135; Albert, "Historia," VII, XXVII, p. 525) Basil's account presents a synthesis of the two different versions; he records that Malik-Ghāzī returned to besiege Melitene a second time, and successfully captured the city and killed Gabriel. (Tritton and Gibb, "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, *JRAS*, p. 75) The chronicler did not give a precise date for Melitene's capture; he placed it within his narrative between the Crusade of 1101 and the Turkish siege of Saruj, later in the same year.

[16] Joscelin's marriages are poorly documented. Joscelin married twice, once to the daughter of Constantine of Vahka, and once to Marie, sister of Roger of Antioch. Nicholson has argued that the Armenian marriage was first. "Joscelyn I, Prince of Edessa," p. 62, no. 351. The only evidence for the first marriage comes from William of Tyre, who states that Joscelin II's mother was a sister of Leo the Armenian. Willermus Tyrensis, *Historia*, *RHC*, *Hist. Oc.*, vol. I, XIV, III, p. 610; Babcock and Krey, *History*, vol. II, pp. 52-53. Joscelin I's second marriage to Maria, sister of Roger of Antioch, probably occurred sometime after his inheritance of the County of Edessa in the spring of 1118 and before Roger's death on June 28, 1119. As Joscelin II was born in 1113, the Armenian marriage must have been the first one. Tritton and Gibb, "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, *JRAS*, p. 85, 90.

These marital connections may have been strengthened by strengthened the marriage of Leo, Constantine's son, to a sister of Baldwin II. The only reference I could find to this marriage in a primary source was Orderic Vitalis, who stated that Leo was the uncle of Bohemund II's wife. Bohemund's wife was Alice, daughter of Baldwin II and Morphia of Melitene. If this statement is correct, the only way Leo could be her uncle was through marriage to a sister either of Baldwin's or of Morphia's. Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and tr. Marjorie Chibnall, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978, XI, 29; pp. 134-135. However, Orderic's distance from northern Syria does not make the most reliable source.

Armenian Strategies for Independence

These marriages, however, did not signal that Armenian lords accepted Frankish hegemony. Gabriel's Frankish alliance was an anomaly, formed in response to his own precarious situation. As discussed in the previous chapter, many Armenian lords viewed the crusaders as a threat to their authority since their arrival in 1097. In the period 1100 to 1118, Armenian elites continued to resist Frankish domination by articulating various alternatives—identification with Byzantine authority, assertion of independence, appeal to Armenia's royal tradition—to craft images of authority that opposed crusader ideology. Surrounded by the Frankish lands of Edessa and Antioch, warlords like Kogh Vasil encouraged conflict between the Frankish principalities, much as Armenian aristocrats of the ninth and tenth centuries manipulated conflicts between Byzantium and the Abbasid caliphate to their own advantage. Some retained Byzantine titles and viewed their political authority as a stand-in for imperial power, although the Byzantine empire maintained only a tenuous political position in northern Syria.[17] The appeal of Byzantine authority spread much further than its limited military achievements would suggest. The continued use of imperial titles, such as *kouropalates* and *protonobelissimos*, reveal the enduring cultural and political presence of Byzantium long after political contact with the imperial court was lost. Armenians of the Levant believed that a revival of the Byzantine empire was an inevitable part of God's plan, as the prophecy of Hovhannes Kozern revealed. Furthermore, the articulation of Byzantine authority gave some Armenian lords a language of power that could compete with crusader claims of divine support.

[17] The Byzantines gained control of Latakia (Laodicea) on the Syrian coast following the First Crusade, then lost it to Tancred in 1103, regained it in 1104 after Muslim armies crushed the Franks at the

Accounts concerning T'at'ul, the Armenian ruler of Marash, reveal the ambiguous nature of power in Syria, and how Armenian leaders manipulated competing claims of authority to secure their own position. The chronicles contradict each other in recounting the political history of Marash in the early twelfth century. The crusaders had conquered the city in the course of their march towards Antioch in 1097,[18] and Matthew believed that the crusaders returned Marash to the control of Byzantium, as they were obliged to do by their oaths sworn in Constantinople.[19] According to Matthew, Bohemund of Antioch and his cousin Richard of the Principate besieged Marash in 1101. Although Matthew claimed the city was Byzantine, it was defended by an Armenian named T'at'ul.[20] The siege failed but in 1105-1106, "the city of Marash was taken from the Greeks; for the Prince of princes [T'at'ul] left this city and gave it to Joscelin. For a large sum of gold he sold an icon of the Theotokos to the great prince T'oros, the son of Constantine, son of Ruben; then he went to Constantinople."[21] This was a strange sequence of events. T'at'ul surrendered the city to the crusaders, thus taking it out of Greek control, yet he was still able to retire to Constantinople, home to the emperor he theoretically betrayed.

In Matthew's eyes, T'at'ul's authority was somehow dependent on Byzantine power. He called the Armenian "a Roman general," and also gave him the unusual title *ishkhan ishkhanats*, literally "prince of princes."[22] Although Armenian leaders first received the title

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battle of Harran, and again lost it to Tancred in 1108 for the final time. Byzantine attempts to conquer Cilicia follow a similar outline.

[18] Fulcher, *Historia*, I, xiv, pp. 205-6; Ryan, *History*, p. 89. Albert of Aachen claims that the Turkish garrison fled when the crusaders approached the city. *Historia*, III, xxvii, pp. 357-8.

[19] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 292; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 176.

[20] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 292; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 176.

[21] "Յայսմ ամի առաւ Մարաշ քաղաք ի Յունաց, եւ եղաւ իշխանաց իշխանն ի նմանէ եւ տայ զքաղաքն ի ձօսլինն եւ զպատկերս սրբոյ Աստուածածնին ծախեաց ընդ բազում գինս ոսկւոյ մեծ իշխանին Հայոց Թորոսի որդւոյ Կոստանդեայ որդւոյ Ռուբենայ, եւ ինքն գնաց ի Քոստանդնուպօլիս:" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 324; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 195.

[22] The title derives from the Persian royal title of *shahnshah*, "the king of kings." Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 292; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 176. The title prince of princes

from the Abbasid caliphs in the ninth century, it soon came to have a Byzantine significance. The Byzantine emperors used the title to reward Armenian princes who were trustworthy allies of the empire, and to encourage others towards the same end. A lead seal of T'at'ul's listed two of his Greek titles, '*archon ton archonton*,' or "prince of princes," and "*protonobelissimos*."[23] The two Greek titles, together with the seal itself, suggest that T'at'ul did rule Marash in the name of the Byzantine emperor. However, neither Greek nor Latin chronicles support the idea that he commanded Byzantine troops, or that the titles he held gave him authority over Marash.[24] Instead, T'at'ul's use of Byzantine titles was an attempt to create the sense of an autonomous Armenian principality allied with Byzantium. T'at'ul could thus have his cake and eat it too. By claiming Byzantine allegiance, he gave his position a more authoritative base than other Armenian warlords did. As the sources of Armenian power in Syria arose largely from the own military muscle of the warlords, they were often accused of being thieves and brigands. Claiming the emperor as the source of his authority enhanced T'atul's status among Armenians and gave him greater legitimacy in Frankish eyes. At the same time, the title of "prince of princes" evoked the heady days of Bagratid Armenia, when Armenians ruled in royal glory. The glimmer of that antique prestige helped T'at'ul to attract military support from other Armenians through a language of power that rose above that of other warlords.

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is not, as Ara Dostourian suggests, the title of the Byzantine commander of Cilicia. Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 333.

[23] J.-C. Cheynet, "Thathoul, Archonte des Archontes," *Revue des études byzantines* 48 (1990), pp. 233-242.

[24] Anna Komnene thought that Marash was re-occupied by the Byzantine general Butumides in 1103, but I believe that Anna's historigraphic interests, when joined to her chronological and geographical distance from the events in Syria, leave her an unreliable source. Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, ed. and tr. Bernard Leib, (Paris: Société d'Édition les belles lettres», 1945), XI, ix, vol. III, p. 41. Anna Komnena, *The Alexiad*, tr. Elizabeth A. S. Dawes, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1928), XI, p. 292.

Kogh Vasil

Other Armenians sought to establish their authority independently of both the Byzantines and the Franks. Kogh Vasil, the Armenian ruler of Kesoun, Raban and other Syrian cities, identified himself with the great kings of Armenia's past. His territories lay between Antioch and Edessa, a position that left him vulnerable to Frankish attacks. In a strategy similar to that of Oshin of Lampron, Vasil encouraged conflicts between Bohemund of Antioch and Baldwin of Edessa so that neither could dominate northern Syria.

In May 1103, Kogh Vasil helped to raise the ransom money to gain Bohemund's release from captivity,[25] and then celebrated his release by adopting the Frank as his son.[26] By working for his release, Vasil managed to separate the Franks into three hostile factions. Bohemund's return meant Tancred lost the regency over Antioch; Vasil hoped that he would not relinquish power gracefully. By then allying with the newly released leader of Antioch, Vasil was also tacitly supporting his claim to be overlord of all northern Syria, including Edessa, ensuring that Baldwin would resent Bohemund's interference. In 1108, the conflicts between Edessa and Antioch broke into open warfare as Tancred (again acting as regent for Bohemund) attempted to force Baldwin II to become subject to Antioch. Although Vasil had earlier maintained closer ties to Bohemund and Tancred, he took this opportunity to

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[25] Ralph of Caen credited Bohemund's release to Baldwin II and Bernard, the Latin Patriarch of Antioch. Radulphus, *Gesta Tancredi*, CXLVII, p. 709; Guizot, pp. 275-6. According to Albert of Aachen, Bohemund negotiated his release from Malik-Ghāzī by promising an alliance against the Byzantines and Kilij Arslan of Iconium. His relatives and friends in Antioch, Edessa and Sicily paid the ransom. Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, IX, XXXV-XXXVI, pp. 610-3. Ibn al-Athir recorded that Bohemund was released on the condition that he release the daughter of Yaghi-Siyan, the Seljuk governor of Antioch from whom the crusaders captured the city in 1098. Al-Athir, "Extrait," *RHC; H. Or.*, vol. I, p. 212. All chronicles noted Tancred complete lack of interest in aiding his uncle's release.

[26] It is possible that this adoption did not actually happen, but was a rhetorical device used by Matthew to demonstrate the closeness of the relationship between Bohemund and Vasil, but the political relationship it represented was real. Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 318-320; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 192.

reverse himself, and this time allied with Baldwin.[27] The issue had no direct relevance to Vasil; his concern was that neither party grow too powerful, and to that end, he allied with Baldwin, the weaker party. Tancred won the battle, but Baldwin I of Jerusalem intervened and forced Tancred to accept Edessa's independence from Antioch.

Kogh Vasil strove to establish a durable Armenian state in Syria, by cultivating the traditional qualities of Armenian royalty, especially the image of military leadership. Matthew of Edessa emphasized that while the Franks of Edessa suffered defeat after defeat at the hands of the Turks, Vasil was defending Christians and winning stunning victories at Turkish expense. Vasil "brought together a regiment of Armenian troops; and brave as lions or lion cubs, these soldiers rushed against the infidels."[28] Vasil and his forces decisively defeated the Turks, capturing a number of prisoners and vast amounts of booty.[29] Matthew listed some of the great fighters in Vasil's army: his adopted son Vasil Dgha, his nephew Peter, and Aplasat' and Tiran. The image is one of a great warrior king and his heroic retinue. Matthew's encomiums of Vasil are all the more striking as the larger part of his chronicle was concerned with the deeds of the real political powers of the Middle East—Byzantium, the Crusaders, and the Seljuk Turks. He showed little interest in local Edessan

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[27] Matthew of Edessa, on the other hand, appeared to be uncertain whom to support in this conflict. On the one hand, Matthew favored Tancred, calling a pious man, but he detested his lieutenant, Richard of the Principate. Yet, as discussed above, Matthew also saw Kogh Vasil as the leader of all Armenians, yet he fought on the side of the despised Baldwin. Matthew reserved his condemnations for Baldwin and Joscelin, for they "did a wicked thing, something that was not pleasing in the eyes of God," which was to ally with a Muslim." "Եւ գնաց Պաղտինն եւ արար ժողով Հեծելոց ի քաղաք Վասին եւ կամեցաւ պատերազմել ընդ Տանդրի ընդ առն աստուածապաշտի:" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 334; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 201

[28] "Եւ լուեալ զայս իշխանին Հայոց Վասիլն, զօրաժողով արարեալ զգունդն Հայոց զօրացն եւ նոքա որպէս զարծիւս եւ կամ որպէս կորիւն առիւծուց Հասանէին ի վերայ այլազգեացն." Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 332; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 200.

[29] Other chronicles do not mention these Armenian victories, and Matthew is likely exaggerating to some extent. Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 334; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 200-1.

or Syrian affairs unless they involved one of the "superpowers." Kogh Vasil was a notable exception.

Vasil further demonstrated his regal qualities by protecting the Armenian church, a role to which Baldwin II also aspired. As the Armenian church was the only surviving national institution, association with the *katholikos,* the head of the church, enabled Vasil to represent himself as the leader of all Armenians. He had some competition to be patron of the Armenian church. In 1103-4, the Armenian patriarch Barsegh, a member of the illustrious Pahlavuni family, migrated from the semi-ruined city of Ani

> accompanied by all his servants, noblemen, bishops and priests and came to Edessa. The Frankish count Baldwin received him with great honor, as is befitting a patriarch. Moreover, the count gave him villages and various other presents and had a very high regard for the Armenian patriarch.[30]

Baldwin reaped political benefits from this act of religious patronage and strengthened his ties with the Armenians of Edessa. However, Barsegh was not the sole Armenian *katholikos.* Due to the religious and political confusions of the post-Manzikert period, there were for a time four *katholikoi.* By 1104 only two remained—Barsegh and his uncle Gregory II. Gregory had taken up residence in Kesoun under Vasil's protection.[31] He died in 1106, and Vasil invited Barsegh to leave Edessa and take his uncle's place. By the time Vasil himself died in 1112, Barsegh was his "spiritual advisor and father confessor,"[32] and was clearly resident in Kesoun.

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[30] "*Յայսմ՝ամի իջեալ Հայրապետն Հայոց Տէր Բարսեղ ի քաղաքէն Սեւոյ ամենայն պաշտոնէիւք իւրովք եւ ազատօք, եպիսկոպոսօք եւ քահանայիւք եւ գայր ի քաղաքն Ուռհա. եւ կոմին Փրանգաց Պաղտինն յոժ մեծարեաց զնա մեծաւ պատուով որպէս վայել է Հայրապետի, եւ գիւղս եւ տուրս պարգեւէր նմա, եւ յոժ սիրեաց զՀայրապետն Հայոց:*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun,* p. 320; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle,* p. 192.

[31] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun,* pp. 324-326; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle,* pp. 195-6.

[32] "*եւ էր Հոգեբարձու՝տրա եւ Հայր խոստովանութեան Տէր Բարսեղ կաթուղիկոսն Հայոց.*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun,* p. 354; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle,* pp. 211-2.

Although Vasil himself arose from humble origins (Kogh means "robber"), he claimed the majesty and proud heritage of the ancient Armenian aristocracy through his wife, who was said to belong to the Kamsarakan family, a name that rings with the glories of ancient Armenia. The Kamsarakans were one of the leading princely lineages of early medieval Armenia, descendants of the ancient royal Arsacid dynasty. The Pahlavunis, who controlled the Armenian katholicate throughout the twelfth century, also claimed descent from the Kamsarakans.[33] However, their glory, like that of their Mamikonean cousins, faded after the disastrous rebellion in 775-6 against the Abbasids. The Kamsarakans disappeared in the eighth century; possibly they lingered on as minor nobles, conscious of their former dignity, and thus showed up in twelfth-century Syria, but this is unlikely. Perhaps Vasil's wife did in fact have some distant claim to Kamsarakan ancestry, or more likely, to Pahlavuni heritage. The relationship was "invented" or emphasized in order to connect Vasil to ancient Armenian glory. Being able to claim an aristocratic heritage, even if through his wife, enabled Vasil to assert his power in the wider Armenian context of Cilicia and Syria without being seen as a tyrant and usurper, as Philaretos was--or so Vasil hoped.

For a decade, Vasil was the most powerful leader among the Armenians, and a serious rival to the Franks in terms of prestige and military might. In 1112 "there was profound grief throughout all Armenia" when Vasil died.[34] Matthew testifies that "around this prince were united remnants of the Armenian [royal] army, members of the Bagratid and

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[33] The Pahlavuni claim to Kamsarakan ancestry seems is dubious, to say the least. The Pahlavuni family emerged only in the tenth century, yet claimed descent from Saint Gregory the Illuminator, the founder of Christianity in Armenia. Their surname evoked the Arsacid monarchy, Pahlav being both an area in Iran and the name of the two branches of the Arsacid family. Moses Khorenats'i [of Chorene], a historian whose writings have been dated anywhere from the fifth to the eighth century, records that both St. Gregory and the Kamsarakans were descended from the Iranian Pahlavids. Moses Khorenats'i, *History of the Armenians*, tr. Robert W. Thomson, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), II, 27; p. 165.

[34] "եղեւ սուգ սաստիկ ամենայն տանն Հայոց . . ." Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 352; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 211.

Pahlavid families, sons of the kings of Armenia, together with the military aristocracy."[35] His death led to a rapid collapse of his principality. The loose and conditional status of political and military relationships meant that the core of Vasil's army was not obligated to continue service with Vasil's son and successor, but felt free to seek out new leaders. Not long after the elder Vasil's death, Tigran and Aplasat' died fighting the Turks in the service of Leo of Vahka.[36]

Tancred, once again regent of Antioch, died at the same time as Vasil, and succeeded by his nephew Roger.[37] Vasil the younger kept his father's principality together for four years, until Roger married Baldwin II's sister, Caecilia in 1116,[38] ending the years of feuding between Edessa and Antioch. Apparently, one of the agreements that accompanied the marriage was that Roger would no longer support Armenian lords against Baldwin, for soon after the marriage, Baldwin II attacked Raban, one of Vasil's most important cities. Vasil the younger sought support from other Armenian leaders, and married the daughter of Leo, son of Constantine of Vahka. The Rupenids of Vahka, however, already had ties to Baldwin—Constantine's daughter had married Baldwin's cousin, Joscelin. Leo's brother seized Vasil and handed him over to the Franks. Baldwin tortured him and forced Vasil to hand over his

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[35] "Յայսմ ամի Ալրեպի ամոյ քսան եւ չորս մեռաւնէր մեծ իշխանն Հայոց, որ կոչէցաւ Գող Վասիլ, եւ եղեւ սուգ սաստիկ ամենայն տանն Հայոց, վասն զի առնառն էին ժողովէալ մեռեալ զօրքն Հայոց եւ ամենայն ազգն Բագրատունեացն եւ Պահլաւունեացն եւ որպէս թագաւորացն Հայոց, ամենայն ազգն Պահլաւունեացն Համգէրձ ազատագունդ զօրացն Հայոց առնառ կայն Համագուցեալ մեծաւ փառաւորութեամբ:" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, pp. 352-4.

[36] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 354; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 212.

[37] Roger's father was Richard of the Principate, who had been held captive with Bohemund from 1100-1103. Richard was Tancred's cousin, and had married Tancred's sister.

[38] Galterius Cancellarius, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. Heinreich Hagenmeyer, (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchshandslung, 1896), p. 105. This text is translated in *Walter the Chancellor's 'The Antiochene Wars,'* tr. Thomas S. Asbridge and Susan B. Edgington, (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 1999), p. 156. William of Tyre also refers to Roger's wife as Baldwin II's sister. Willermus Tyrensis, *Historia, RHC, Hist. Oc.*, vol. I, XII, IX, p. 523; Babcock and Krey, *History*, vol. I, p. 528. Her name, Caecilia, is given in a charter of 1126, whereby she donated land near Mamistra to St. Mary of Josaphat. She is named "dominia Tarsi," which was apparently land granted to her as the princess dowager of Antioch. Reinhold Röhricht (ed.), *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani; Addimentum*, (Oeniponti:* Libraria Academica Wageriana, 1893.), p. 9

territories. Young Vasil eventually fled to Constantinople, the haven for all exiled and defeated Armenians.[39]

Accommodation with the Franks

Following the annexation of Vasil's domain, Baldwin II set his sights on other, less powerful Armenian leaders. Matthew's impassioned description of Baldwin's campaign against them has already been quoted. Baldwin's attacks did mean the end of autonomous power for some Armenians, as Matthew bewailed. But in many areas Armenians lords continued to rule. Constantine of Gargar died in a Frankish prison in 1114, but Syriac sources reveal that his son Michael still ruled Gargar in 1122, when the city passed into Frankish hands. Michael gave up the citadel, not because of pressure from the Franks, but because he was no longer able to defend it against Turkish attacks. As compensation for the loss of Gargar, Joscelin, successor to Baldwin II as count of Edessa, gave Michael control of Duluk, a town near Rawandan.[40] Duluk (In Latin, Tuluppa) had a Latin bishop, and was a town of consequence to the Franks. As for Gargar, it continued to be ruled by an Armenian—Joscelin gave it over to the brother of the Armenian *katholikos*.

Al-Bira came under Frankish rule when Galeran of LePuiset, first cousin of Baldwin,[41] married the daughter of its Armenian lord, Ablgharib. Al-Bira was the main crossing point of the Euphrates on the Edessa-Antioch road, and therefore was the lynchpin for the control of the area. The marriage took place under strained circumstances, for Baldwin II and Galeran were besieging the city at the time, and the marriage was essentially a

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[39] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 368; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 219-20.

[40] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, pp. 80-1; Tritton and Gibb, "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," *JRAS* (1933), p. 91.

[41] J. L. LaMonte, "Lords of LePuiset on the Crusades," *Speculum* 17 (1942), pp. 100-118.

negotiated end of the siege. Of course, Galeran benefited the most from the marriage. A time-consuming and expensive siege was ended, and he could hope that as the son-in-law of the city's former lord, he might enjoy the loyalty and military support of its citizens. Possession of Bira and its environs elevated Galeran as one of the Frankish leaders in northern Syria, and meant that control of northern Syria was firmly in the hands of the Montlhéry family. Ablgharib could perhaps look forward to a comfortable retirement—Matthew claimed that he left al-Bira and settled in Anazarba in Cilicia[42]--and hope that the city would remain in the hands of his descendants.

Part of Baldwin's success in ousting Armenian lords arose from the ambiguous nature of Armenian authority, a fact that T'at'ul and Vasil struggled to overcome. As émigrés, Armenians had no historic claim to authority in Syria, and more importantly, had no widely recognized system of government. Traditional Armenian holders of authority, such as local monarchies or autonomous dynastic houses, did not accompany the émigrés from old Armenia. The elites of northern Syria were *nouveaux puissants*, and did not have the dynastic traditions of patronage and power to cement their positions. Nor had they intermarried. Consequently they saw one another as threats equal to or greater than that which the Franks posed, and often aided the Franks in the murder or exile of other Armenian lords. Constantine of Gargar helped overthrow T'oros of Edessa, and Leo of Vahka played a pivotal role in the seizure of Vasil's lands. The only twelfth-century Armenian leaders who managed to found a dynasty, and later a state, were the Rupenids of Vahka, who succeeded largely because there were fewer Armenian lords competing for power in Cilicia.

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[42] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 368; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 220.

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Baldwin II and Urban Populations

Matthew of Edessa' account of the conflicts between Armenian lords and Baldwin II, minus its more dramatic aspects, was largely consistent with what other sources recorded. In contrast, Matthew's stories of Frankish outrages perpetrated on the citizens of Edessa received little corroboration from other sources. The Syriac chronicle of Basil bar Schoumana, for example, described a far different world, where, despite military defeats and difficult times, the Christian population remained loyal to their Frankish leaders and were well-treated by them. By comparing the relationship between Franks and urban Christian populations preserved in these two accounts, the historian has an unusual opportunity to view the same events from multiple perspectives. What this comparison reveals is that Matthew exaggerated the tensions and hostilities between Franks and local Christians, often distorting events so that co-operation was concealed, and conflict highlighted. In fact, the bond between Frankish leaders and urban Christian populations, which played such an important role in the foundation of the Frankish power in Edessa, continued its vital role through Baldwin II's reign, and emerged as a cornerstone of the Frankish polity. What is important here is not the veracity of Matthew's account, but his use of narratives of conflict to criticize aspects of Baldwin's leadership.

The Jacobite Population of northern Syria

We have up to this point spoken little about the Jacobites, although they formed a large part of the population of northern Syria. The Jacobite population of northern Syria was nearly invisible in Latin and Armenian sources, and even Syriac chronicles, while revealing a keen interest in contemporary events, documented little interaction between Syriac-speakers and Franks. Unlike the Armenians, the Jacobites did not have an

independent political past; ecclesiastical history was the central narrative of their historical identity. The wide arc of Syriac-speaking populations stretched from Antioch down the Levantine coast to Egyptian lands, and grew strongest in Mesopotamia, on the banks of the Tigris. Syriac-liturgy communities, particularly Nestorian ones, could be found along the Silk Road of Central Asia into China. Jacobite populations flourished in both rural and urban areas, and a strong merchant class was the financial strength of the community.

The autochthonous Jacobite tradition developed from the ascetic and theological traditions of Alexandria. Most Jacobite rejected the conclusions of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and its definition of Christ's nature as "εν δὺο φὺσεων" (in two natures.)[43] Despite the rejection of Chalcedon, Syrian Christians remained a part of the Imperial Orthodox Church until the sixth century, when through the efforts of Jacob Baradaios (d. 578) after whom the Syrian monophysites are frequently called Jacobites, a separate Syrian Orthodox Church was organized.[44]

Syriac and Armenian Perspectives: Conflict in Saruj

By comparing Matthew of Edessa and Basil's accounts of the same event, we can explore the rhetoric of conflict in both Syriac and Armenian accounts. In January 1101, the Turkish emir Sokman[45] besieged Saruj.[46] Prior to the crusader conquest in 1098, the city had

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[43] The change of a single letter ("en" to "ek") would have been consonant with Alexandrine theology, and the essential unity of Christianity might have been preserved for another eleven hundred years.

[44] W. H. C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.)

[45] Sokman was the son of Artuq ibn Aksub, who had been the Seljuk governor of Jerusalem. The family lost power there following the Fatamid seizure of the city in 1098. Sokman had captured Saruj in 1096, and installed his nephew Balak ibn Bahram as governor. Baldwin I captured Saruj from him (Albert names him Balas) in 1098. The center of Artukid power lay in eastern Iraq, around Mardin and Hisn Kayfa (modern Hasankeyf) on the nothern Tigris, north of Nisibis. See Claude Cahen, "Le Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers Urtuḳides," *Journal Asiatique* 227 (1935), pp. 219-276. Hasankeyf, a beautiful city full of early Artukid monuments, is scheduled to be flooded by the new Ilisu Dam within a year.

been ruled by Sokman's nephew, and the Turk was determined to reclaim it. Baldwin's attempts to defend the city ended in defeat, and Saruj stood defenseless. Matthew of Edessa's account of the defense of the city praised the behavior of Fulker, Count of Saruj, and vilified Baldwin II. Fulker, "a brave and mighty man and a person of saintly and pure conduct,"[47] died defending the city, but Baldwin slunk back to Edessa in defeat and "took refuge in the citadel of Edessa together with three men and remained there reduced to a pitiable state."[48] Matthew's contrast between Fulker's valor and Baldwin's cowardice is exaggerated by the repetition of the word "*մարմին*," (body). Fulker was described as "*սուրբ ի մերաց մարմնոյ* (pure of bodily sins)," while Baldwin was scorned as "*յալաչին մարմնով*," (pitiful in body).

Baldwin's Frankish supporters soon coaxed him from the shelter of the citadel, and the count fled to Antioch for military support, abandoning Saruj. The entire Christian population of Saruj, along with the Frankish bishop of Edessa,[49] had retreated to the citadel of the city for greater security. Finding their situation desperate and seeing little hope of aid from the defeated Baldwin, the citizens negotiated an agreement with Sokman, and admitted him to the city. When Baldwin returned with troops a month later, the citizens refused to renege on their agreement with Sokman, and denied Baldwin any assistance attacking the

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[46] Ibn al-Qalānisī, who was a member of a leading Damascene family, and was twice *rais* of the city, recorded this attack on Saruj in his chronicle. *Damas de 1075 a 1154*, tr. Roger Le Tourneau, (Damascus, 1952), p. 45. For a brief discussion of al-Qalānisī's biography and work, see Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord a l'Epoque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, (Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1940), pp. 38-40.

[47] "*եւ ապաւնա կոմսն Յրհոյ Փուչերն այր քաջ եւ հզօր եւ սուրբ ի մեղաց մարմնոյ . . .*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 296; Matthew of Edessa, *History*, p. 178.

[48] "*եւ կոմսն Պաղտին երեք արամբք անկանէր ի կլայն Ռուհայոյ եւ կայր յալաչին:*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 296, Matthew of Edessa, *History*, p. 178.

[49] The text refers to "*բաբիսն Ռուհայոյ.*" Matthew uses this word, "papios" only in reference to Latin bishops, never Armenian ones. The word is not often used to refer to bishops. *Nor Parkirk Haigasyian Lezui* (Venice, 1837). Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 296; Matthew of Edessa, p. 178.

Turks who were defending the city. Baldwin overwhelmed the defenses of the city with his own forces and

> then the Franks turned against Saruj and slaughtered the entire population of the town with the sword. They pillaged the while town and carried off a countless number of young boys, girls and women to the city of Edessa. Thus Antioch and all the lands under Frankish control were filled with captives, while the entire town of Saruj flowed with blood.[50]

Matthew's account of the events at Saruj emphasized Baldwin's failures as a leader and his cruelty towards his Christian subjects. The account, however, contradicted itself. Why would the Latin bishop of Edessa urge the citizens to cooperate with the Turks and oppose Baldwin? Why would Baldwin massacre a population acting under the advice of his own bishop?

Basil bar Schoumana's version of events was quite different. Like Matthew, he recorded the defeat of Baldwin and his flight to Edessa "in fear."[51] But when Sokman captured the city, the Christian inhabitants did not negotiate; instead, they retreated to the citadel where they continued to resist the Turkish forces with "Papias, the Frankish bishop of Edessa." Baldwin then returned to Saruj with the forces he had gathered in Edessa and Antioch, and attacked the Turkish besiegers. With the co-operation of the Christians within the citadel, he defeated them. The Muslim inhabitants of the city, fearing the re-occupation by the Franks, seized the town gates and walls and continued to resist Baldwin. The Franks urged the Muslims to surrender, saying that they had no desire to kill them. When the Muslims refused to surrender, Baldwin ordered the Christian inhabitants of the city to wear

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[50] "Յայնժամ դարձան Փռանգն ի վերայ քաղաքին Սրոյ եւ զամենայն բազմութիւն քաղաքին ոտրեցաց սրով. եւ տարան զամենայն քաղաքն եւ մանկունս եւ աղջկունս եւ զկանայս անհամարս էարկ ի քաղաքն Ուռհա, եւ լցաւ գերութիւնեամբ Անտիոք եւ տունն Փռանգաց, եւ լցաւ արեամբ ամենայն քաղաքն:" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 296; Matthew of Edessa, p. 178. Ibn al-Qalānisī confirms the massacres that followed the Frankish capture of the town, saying "the Franks arrived at Saruj, seized the city and killed or reduced into slavery its population . . ." al-Qalānisī, *Damas*, p. 45.

badges with the sign of the cross. The Frankish forces broke into the city and massacred the Muslim inhabitants, sparing those with crosses. To Basil's dismay, "the populous city was destroyed and the Christians left gathered round the citadel and lived there miserably."[52]

The Syriac tale of two cities in one—Muslim Saruj and Christian Saruj—told a story of gruesome massacres that was similar to those found in contemporaries, such as Matthew and Ibn al-Qalānisī, yet placed the events in a far more intelligible light. Although both Matthew and Basil referred to the presence of the Frankish bishop of Edessa among the Christians of Saruj, the Syriac account reconciled his presence with the destruction of the city, which appeared contradictory in Matthew's narrative.

Nor was the incident at Saruj the only event when Matthew suggested that the Franks inexplicably massacred Christian populations. Following the defeat of Baldwin II at the hands of Tancred and Richard of the Principate in 1108, the citizens of Edessa, with the aid of the Latin archbishop, seized control of the city to prevent Richard from capturing it. Matthew reported that when Baldwin made his way to the city, he assumed that the citizens had united against him and "proceeded to wantonly pillage everything in sight and to put out the sight of many innocent people."[53] The actions of the citizens were intended to preserve the city for Baldwin, as the cooperation of the Frankish archbishop indicated. Just as he overstated Baldwin's massacre in Saruj, expanding the massacre to the entire population, Matthew here exaggerated a few, perhaps accidental, deaths that occurred during the political chaos that followed Baldwin's return into a planned and vicious massacre of the very people

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[51] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, pp. 65-66; Tritton and Gibb, "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," *JRAS* (1933), p. 76.

[52] .եւ[illegible] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, p. 66; Tritton and Gibb, "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," *JRAS* (1933), p. 77.

[53] "եւ զկնի միոյ աւուրն գայր Ջօսլինն եւ Պաղտին եւ տանէին ի քաղաքն Ուռհա. եւ արարին վասն այն խօսիցն քննութիւնս. եւ Համարեցան զայն բան արուսո եւ թիւրեցին զխօսքն ի չար խորհուրդս եւ

who supported him. On another occasion, Matthew accused the Franks of expelling the entire population of Edessa because Baldwin feared they city would revolt against him.[54] Three days later, the population was allowed to return. Unsurprisingly, no other source records this event.

Following Baldwin II's capture by the Turks at Harran in 1104, the Armenians of Edessa chose Tancred to defend the city until their leader was released from captivity.[55] Soon after, Tancred again assumed the regency of Antioch, and left Edessa in the hands of his cousin and brother-in-law, Richard of the Principate. Neither Richard nor Tancred made any effort to secure the release of Baldwin and Joscelin, and subsequently did not rule Edessa with an eye towards its preservation, but for their own profit. Here Basil and Matthew for once agree. Basil considered Richard to be "a bad, tyrannical, unjust man, and greedy . . . . He inflicted on them [the Edessans] cruel tortures, imprisonments, and disgrace. He gathered much money, especially as he knew that he was a destroyer and a passer-by, not the true lord and heir."[56] Matthew similarly complained that Richard had "caused the ruin of many people."[57] Richard's attempts to defend the city against Turkish attacks ended in the defeat of the city's forces, and on one occasion, Turkish troops even entered the city, massacring four hundred citizens.[58]

During Tancred and Richard's rule of northern Syria, Matthew wrote an uncharacteristic tirade against the Franks. The event that provoked it is difficult to uncover, but the rapacity and incompetence of Richard's government may well have led to a revolt in

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բազմաց շատ աւեր ածին եւ զայլոց զանմեղաց զաշխ ի լուսոյ խաւարեցուցին:" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 336; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 202.

[54] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 354-6; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 212-3.

[55] Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, IX, XLI, p. 616.

[56] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, p. 70; Tritton and Gibb, "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," *JRAS* (1933), p. 80.

[57] "*զի՛նա յոյժամ՛ունէր քաղաքն Ռուհա, բազմաց աւեր արար:*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 336; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 202.

the Armenian town of Aplast'an. Matthew did not record who was in charge of the Frankish forces, nor whether Aplast'an lay within the territory of Antioch or of Edessa. According to Matthew, the citizens of the town grew tired of the "many harassments, tribulations and misfortunes" they suffered at the hands of the Franks, and sought alliance with the Turks. The Frankish garrison resisted, but the citizens defeated and massacred them. Matthew's account of this revolt is followed by a remarkable lament, bewailing the cosmic effects of this Frankish-Armenian conflict.

> On that day about three hundred persons perished, all because of the tribulations which the Franks brought upon the faithful; for they had devastated and depopulated the country and made it desolate. Thus, because of the Franks the land became barren. The vineyards and orchards withered, the fields became covered with thistles, and the springs dried up. Friendship and happiness between friends was destroyed; treachery and hatred was disseminated throughout the land.[59]

Matthew continued in this style for at least another dozen lines, describing the abandonment of the churches, the silencing of the bells, and the disappearance of the sweet smell of incense as even the churches were desecrated by the Franks. Matthew ended his lament saying, "These things the nation of the Franks committed, because the glorious princes and leaders were divided, and government fell to unworthy and useless people, and because the Franks revived persecution and torture of the faithful of Christ through their excessive greed."[60] Matthew's prose was characteristically vague concerning who the "glorious princes and leaders" or the "unworthy and useless" people were. This lament was bookended by the

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[58] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 328; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 197.

[59] "*Եւ յաւուր յայնմիկ կոտորեցան իբրեւ ոգիք երեք հարիւր վասն չարեացն, զորս ածին ի վերայ հաւատացելոցն, զի յաւեր դարձուցին արարին անմարդ, փշաբեր. եւ խոպան եղեւ երկիր աւուրջ նոցա. այգիք եւ ծառք դօսացան, եւ երդաք դաշտաց տատասկով լցան, եւ խցեալ ցամաքեցան աղբեւրք, բարձին ջուր եւ զուրախութիւն ի սիրելեաց, մատնութիւն եւ ատելութիւն տարածեցաւ ի վերայ երկրի.*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 330; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 198.

[60] Translation of the author. "*Այս այսպէս գործեցաւ ի մոլի ազգէն Փռանգաց, վասն զի փառասէր իշխանքն եւ գլխաւորքն նոցա Հասան, եւ իշխանութիւն նոցա յանարժանսն եւ յոչոքսն անկաւ*

account of Richard's regency of Edessa; thus Baldwin and Joscelin, languishing in prison, may be the "glorious princes," and Tancred and Richard, ruthlessly exploiting Edessa and Tell Bashir may be the "unworthy people."[61] Alternatively, Matthew could have intended a rejection of the Franks altogether, signifying Armenian leaders such as Kogh Vasil by "glorious princes," and all Franks by "unworthy people."

\The brutality of Richard's regency did not lead Edessans to reject Frankish leadership altogether, but instead served to heighten loyalty to the captive Baldwin, as became clear when Baldwin was released. We have already seen that the Edessans revolted against Richard in order to preserve the city for Baldwin. Indeed, following his release Baldwin II seemed to place more emphasis in relations with the Christians of the city. This may have been inspired by the need to rally the citizens of Edessa to fight against a series of aggressive Muslim attacks.[62] In 1110, a new weapon was introduced to the battlefield. Seeking to rally their forces,

> all the Frankish forces . . . came to the Armenian prince Vasil, who equipped his troops and went to Samosata. The Armenian prince Ablgharib, who possessed the town of Bira, also joined the Franks with his troops. So with a tremendous army of troops the Christians passed into the confines of the city of Edessa . . . On the following day, the Franks prepared for battle. Bringing forth the holy cross of Varag, the troops of Edessa fastened it to the end of a lance and carried it before them.[63]

եւ վասն այսորիկ յարուցին Հալածանս եւ չարչարանս ի վերայ Հաւատացելոցն Քրիստոսի ի ժեռն սաստիկ արծաթախրոխթեանն րեանց:" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 330.

[61] Alternatively, Matthew could be referring to the lack of unity among Armenian leaders, while condemning all the Franks as "unworthy and useless." Yet northern Syria had never been united under Armenian leadership, with the exception of the brief period under Philaretus, who Matthew detested.

[62] Matthew characteristically blames the Franks for provoking the attacks on the city.

[63] *"Եւ խաղացեալ ամենայն զօրաքն Փռանգաց եկին առ իշխանն Հայոց առ վասիլ, եւ նա վառեաց զամենայն ցօրս իւր եւ Հասանէր ի Սամուսատ. գայր եւ զկնի նոցա իշխանն Հայոց Ապղարիպն զօրաք իւրովք որ նստէր ի քաղաքն, որ անուանեալ կոչի Պիր. եւ յայնժամ բազմութեամբ զօրաք իւրեանց անցին ի սահմանս քաղաքին Ուռհայոյ: Եւ լուեալ զայս ասպատակարն Թուղքաց Մամուսան, չարժեալ զբանակն իւր եւ իջանէր ի քաղաքն իւր ի Խառան, եւ Հասան զորքն Փռանգաց ի դուռն քաղաքին Ուռհայոյ եւ բանակս հարկանէին անդ: Եւ ի լուսանալ միւս այլ աւուրն կազմեցան ի գործ պատերազմին, եւ Հանեալ բարձրացուցին զվարագայ սուրբ Նշանն ի վերայ գեղարդեան եւ տանէին առաջի զօրացն."* Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 342; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 205.

Just as the cross had served as a symbol of Baldwin I's acceptance of Edessa's Armenian character in 1097, now it served as a symbol of military cooperation, and the hope of divine support. Its use in battle recalls the Holy Lance, discovered in Antioch, which helped to convince the crusaders that, despite a lack of food, men and horses and being besieged in a semi-destroyed city, they would defeat the enormous Turkish army outside the walls. Similarly, only a month after the capture of Jerusalem, the Crusaders discovered the True Cross of St. Helena, and bore it into battle, winning a momentous victory over the Egyptians at Ramla.[64] The holy cross of Varag, however, was not "found" as the Holy Lance and True Cross were. The cross of Varag was already venerated by the Armenians of Edessa and the surrounding area before the arrival of the First Crusade, and provided a link to their ancestral homeland near Lake Van.[65]

Roughly contemporary with these events, Baldwin issued a new coin that appears to represent the Holy Cross of Varag. The copper *folles* shows a figure in armor (presumably Baldwin) with a sword on his left hip, and holding a cross in his right hand. The inscription reads "ΒΑΛΔΟΥΙΝΟC ΔΟΥΛΟ CTAY[PO]," "Baldwin, servant of the cross."[66] The combination of the issue of this new coin with the use of the cross of Varag in battle suggests a deliberate propaganda campaign to ensure Armenian loyalty to the Franks. The use of the cross as a military symbol was a distinctively Frankish gesture, but the use of the Holy Cross of Varag created a synthesis of different religious traditions in order to protect

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[64] For a discussion of the use of the True Cross in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, see Alan V. Murray, "'Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ:' The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *The Crusades and their Sources*, eds. John France and William G. Zajac, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 217-238.

[65] J. M. Thierry, *Monuments Arméniens du Vaspurakan*, (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1989), pp. 132-149.

[66] John Porteous, "Crusader Coinage with Greek or Latin Inscriptions," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989),vol. VI, *The Impact of*

the city. Perhaps Armenian priests even participated in religious ceremonies for the army before its departure for battle. The issue of the coin made the cross the new symbol for Frankish power in northern Syria, thus linking Baldwin's authority and Armenian piety to combined military strength.

The battle with Mawdud has a tragic postscript. The Edessan and Turkish armies largely avoided direct conflict, but at a vulnerable moment when the Frankish army was crossing the Euphrates, the Turkish army fell on the Armenian rear guard of the army, still on the east side of the river. Among the soldiers was also a large civilian population that had fled Edessa and the surrounding area due to the siege and ensuing famine. Fulcher sadly reported "they seized many of our people who were on foot and carried them off to Persia, particularly the helpless Armenians whom they had already wickedly pillaged."[67] Matthew of Edessa recalled that "the Frankish forces, who were on the other side of Euphrates rives, witnessed all these horrible things which were happening to all the Christians, but were unable to assist them in any way and so wept bitterly."[68] Even Matthew, who was usually suspicious of Frankish motives, acknowledged the sincerity of their grief.

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the Crusades on Europe, ed. Harry W. Hazard and Norman P. Zacour, p. 365. See also, D. M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East*, (London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1995), pp. 31-9.

[67] "qui cum palatim cum ratibus paucis et modicis transissent, adfuerunt ilico post eos venientes Turci versipelles et rapaces, qui multos de peditibus nostris ibi adripuerunt et in Persidam abduxerunt, de Armenis vidilicet inopibus, quos Turcis iam impie vastaverant." Fulcher, *Historia*, II, XLIII, p. 542; Ryan, *History*, p. 198.

[68] *իսկ զօրքն Փռանգաց, որ էին յայնկոյս գետոյն Եփրատայ, տեսանէին զայս ամենայն անցս քրիստոնէիցն եւ ոչինչ կարէին օգնել եւ լայնին դառնապես.*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 344; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 206.

Conclusion

From the perspective of Matthew of Edessa, and many modern historians, the period of Baldwin II's rule over Edessa was disastrous for the local population, particularly the Armenians. Their princes were killed, tortured and imprisoned, whole populations were expelled from cities, and citizens massacred. Given this catalog of crimes, one might expect that Baldwin II would rank with Philaretus as a "son of Satan" in Matthew's estimation. Instead, at the time of Baldwin's elevation to the throne of Jerusalem, the Armenian chronicler considered that

> this Baldwin was one of the more illustrious members of the Frankish nobility: a valiant man and a warrior, exemplary in conduct, an enemy of sin, and by nature humble and modest; however, these good qualities were offset by his ingenious avariciousness in seizing and accumulating the wealth of others, his insatiable love for money, and his deep lack of generosity; as for the rest, he was very orthodox in his faith, and his ethical conduct and basic character were quite solid.[69]

The accounts of conflict in Matthew's account thus had only a passing relevance, even for the author. Their purpose was not to tar Baldwin or the Franks corporately as persecutors or to question the right of Franks to rule. Matthew's condemnation of Baldwin instead captured moments of conflict, which were not necessarily even related to the episodes of violence described. Perhaps the best way to envision their purpose is as op-ed pieces, targeting specific policies of the moment, but retaining only transitory meaning.

Much of Matthew's account of this period may be intended to bolster the authority of Baldwin's successor, Joscelin. Upon his accession to power, Matthew remarked that

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[69] "Պաղտինս այս էր ի մեծամեծաց տանն Փռանգաց, այր քաջ եւ պատերազմող, մարմնով սրբասէր եւ մեղաց ատեցող եւ բարուքն հեզ եւ ցած, այլ յաւէր հարստար եւ յափշտակող անյագուրդ, գանձուց եւ արծաթոյ անկուշտ եւ ի տուրս ընչից նուազ եւ հաւատովն յոյժ ուղղափառ եւ բարուքն եւ

"Joscelin abandoning his former cruel nature, now adopted a very humane and compassionate attitude towards the inhabitants of Edessa."[70] An Armenian inscription preserved near the East Gate of Edessa gives us a concrete sense of the role of local Christians outside of Matthew's rhetoric. Dated to the year 1122, the inscription attested that an Armenian named Vasil held the office of *terapahutuin*, which literally means "protector of the place" in Armenian, and indicated that Vasil's position was something like governor of the city of Edessa, or perhaps regent while the count was absent.[71] The prominent position of the inscription near one of the main gates of the city, and the public use of Armenian instead of Latin, indicate that the Armenian population of Edessa retained a large measure of political influence and esteem even after the partial loss of aristocratic power decried by Matthew.

բնութիւնն յոյժ Հաստատուն:" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 372; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, pp. 221-2..

[70] "*եւ դարձաւ ի գութ ողորմութիւն ի վերայ քաղաքին Ռուհայոյ, ծողեալ զգազանական բարքն, զոր ունէր յառաջագոյն:*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 378; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 225.

[71] C. J. F. Dowsett, "A Twelfth-century Armenian Inscription at Edessa," in *Iran and Islam*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), pp. 197-227; for definition of the term, see *Nor Parkirk Haigatsean Lesui [The New ArmenianDictionary]*, (Venice, 1837), s. v. "*տէրապահութիւն*"

Chapter 4

Local Christian Clergy and Latin Laity

Sometime in the 1140's, an Armenian scribe sat with a piece of parchment in a scriptorium in Jerusalem. The parchment having been smoothed and prepared, the scribe ruled and pricked the pages so that the letters he would copy would be elegant and neatly-formed. He then numbered the quires, using letters of the Armenian alphabet to designate each page. Satisfied that the parchment was ready to receive the sacred words of the Mass, the scribe began to write, copying not in Armenian but in Latin. If our scribe looked outside, he would see not the monastery of St. James in the Armenian quarter of Jerusalem as we might expect, but the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.[1] This manuscript forms the only evidence for the existence of our scribe; he is otherwise left nameless, without any further identity. The traces of his existence—a few faint Armenian letters traced on parchment, a peculiar look to Latin script—provoke a series of questions. Why was an Armenian copying a Latin manuscript? Was he a priest or monk among the Latin canons? Or was he a lay scribe hired for his skills?

The traditional historiographic answer was to dismiss our scribe as an aberration, or at most the sign of artistic co-operation between Armenians and Franks. But as this chapter will show, the churches, monasteries and pilgrimage shrines of Syria and Palestine functioned as the religious *fora* of the crusader era, where, more than the marketplace, people

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[1] The missal that he copied survives in the Bibliotheque nationale in Paris (lat. 12056), and is noteworthy for the verticality of its Latin script, which may be the influence of the scribe's native Armenian lettering. Certain details of the manuscript suggest that the copyist had access to manuscripts from the library of the Holy Sepulcher. See Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957; reprinted, London: Pindar Press, 1986), App. II.

of different Christian communities met, exchanged stories, and worked side-by-side. The exchanges of the marketplace were in comparison curt, anonymous transactions, whereas the social liveliness found in the sacred spaces have left their brief, but discernable, marks on the historical record. When we examine the Latin East as whole, we discover a heterogeneous society where the easy flow of laity, clergy and religious beliefs across confessional divisions reveals the permeability of the multiple Christianities that flourished there. Bernard Hamilton's masterful *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* has examined religious relationships from the political and ecclesiastical perspective of the Latin clergy; my focus will instead be on the indigenous clergy and monks of the Levant and their relationship to resident Christians—both Frankish and local. What emerges is a complex picture. Local Christian clergy often cooperated closely with royal and comital authority, receiving financial support and providing a link to local populations. On a more popular level, laity from all Christian traditions visited each other's monasteries and shrine churches, and even attended each other's services. Local Christian bishops and priests were a familiar sight throughout the Latin East, joining in public processions and saying Mass in the same churches as the Franks. Local Christians played a vital role in the cultural and even political life of the Latin East. Using the religious sphere as a focusing lens, we can catch a glimpse of the vibrant social and cultural world of the twelfth-century Levant.

Princes and Patriarchs in northern Syria

Although we do not know where our Armenian scribe was originally from, the likelihood is that he was from one of the many Armenian communities of northern Syria,

and came to Jerusalem after the Latin conquest.[2] Had he spent any time in the county of Edessa, he would have found that political and social interaction with the Franks was common. The counts of Edessa sought to maintain some measure of influence over Armenian and Jacobite bishops, with varying success. In Chapter 3, I discussed Baldwin II's attempt to encourage the Armenian patriarch Barsegh to settle in Edessa. What historians fail to realize is that sometimes the impulse generating Latin influence over local clergy often came from the clergy themselves, as the following example shows. The see of Edessa had long been a thorn in the side of the Jacobite patriarchs. The city's position as a cultural and religious center of northern Syria often meant that the bishops of the city resented patriarchal authority. After the death of the aged bishop of Edessa in 1101, Patriarch Athanasius VII hoped to establish his patriarchal seat there. The citizens of Edessa, however, demanded their right to choose their own bishop, and Athanasius reluctantly allowed the election to proceed. The man chosen to sit on the episcopal throne, however, was Basil, a member of the illustrious bar Shabouni family, and an enemy of the patriarch. Frustrations mounted on both sides, and before long Athanasius had anathematized the bishop. After consulting Baldwin I, Basil took the unusual step of sending a formal complaint to the Latin Patriarch of Antioch, Bernard of Valence, although he had no formal authority over the Jacobites. Bernard had Athanasius brought to Antioch. Two different accounts survive of this conflict—one, by Michael the Syrian, who, as he was also patriarch, naturally took the point-of-view of his predecessor, and the second by Basil bar Schoumana, who was the bishop of Edessa, and therefore was partial to his predecessor's position.[3]

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[2] Little is known of the Armenian community in Jerusalem prior to the crusader conquest. See Kevork Hintilian, *History of the Armenians in the Holy Land*, (Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1976).

[3] Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and tr. J.-B. Chabot, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905), vol. IV, pp. 597-8; tr. vol. III, pp. 207-209; J.-B. Chabot (ed.), *Anonymi Auctoris Chronicon Ad Annum Christi 1234 Pertinens*, (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1953), vol. 82, Tom. 37, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium; Scriptores Syri*, vol. II, text, pp. 302-3 This publication is an

Each author emphasized different parts of the story, and Michael's account headlined the interference of the Franks. According to him, when the Frankish Patriarch questioned the two parties about the dispute, the translator mistranslated one of the patriarch's statements and told Bernard that the dispute was over money. The Latin cleric was horrified, assumed that the patriarch was a simoniac, and promptly imprisoned him. His supporters, including a Melkite theologian named 'Abd al-Meshyah, sought help from the prince of Antioch, who, convinced by a hefty bribe, told the Latin patriarch, "You should not judge the Syrians, because your authority does not appertain to this."[4]

Nor were the counts above using a little coercion to ensure their influence. Following the death of Athanasius VII in 1129, Count Joscelin of Edessa seized from the monastery of Barsauma the ritual objects necessary to consecrate another patriarch. His intention was not to steal them, but only to ensure that the election would take place in his territory. In some ways, he may have considered himself as the protector of the Jacobite church, as he had recently freed Patriarch Athanasius from the Emir of Amida, who was as eager as Joscelin to have the patriarch resident in his territory, and had kept the patriarch there by force.[5] The bishops who assembled for the election were largely from Frankish and Armenian territories—Adana, Gargar, Hisn Mansour, Tell Hamdun, Ra'ban and Anazarba among others (see the map of northern Syria, **fig. 1**). They elected Mawdiono, abbot of the monastery of Duwayr [Dovair], who was then consecrated in the Latin church at Tell Bashir with Joscelin and other Frankish lords in attendance. One of the first acts of the new

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anastatic reproduction of a volume published by Chabot in 1916 under the same title, series III, t. XV, text. A third volume published in the same series under the same title, labeled vol. 354/t. 154 (1974) contains a French translation by Albert Abouna, vol.II, p. 226.

[4] "ܘܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܡܬܪܓܡܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܥܠ ܡܐ ܐܬ ܠܗ ܫܠܛܢ ܗܢܐ" Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. IV, p. 600; tr. vol. III, p. 210.

[5] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, pp. 298-300; tr. A. Abouna, vol.II, pp. 223-4; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 610-611; tr. vol. III, p. 228.

patriarch was to absolve Basil bar Shabouni, Jacobite bishop of Edessa, from the anathema under which the previous patriarch had placed him.[6]

These examples, however, have more than just a whiff of political opportunism. Influence over patriarchal elections was a political weapon that Byzantine and Muslim rulers had frequently wielded for their own benefit. But it is important to note that the Armenian and Jacobite churches had considerable financial and institutional resources outside of Frankish territory, and need not have availed themselves of crusader hospitality.[7] Their readiness to do so reveals a basic sense of trust, but also it suggests that local Christian clergy had as much to gain from the relationship as the Franks themselves did.

Other evidence survived, furthermore, to suggest that less politically-motivated religious relations were common. Michael the Syrian recorded that

> during this summer (1125), while the sultan besieged Melitene, Joscelin came to the monastery of Mar Barsauma, in order to pray. When he saw the people, who had abandoned the territory of Claudia and had fled ahead of the sultan, he understood how numerous the troops of the sultan were, and he returned quickly to his own territory.[8]

In this passage, Michael sought to communicate the threat of Muslim invasion looming over the Christian communities of Syria. Behind the unexpected intelligence report, however, we find Joscelin, a Frankish prince, worshipping at the shrine of a great Jacobite saint. Other Franks had personal relationships with Armenian or Jacobite clergy. Killed attempting to recapture Edessa from the Turks in 1146, Baldwin of Marash had an Armenian priest as his

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[6] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, p. 303; tr. A. Abouna, vol.II, p. 227. While the "Anonymous" placed the blame on Athansius, while Michael the Syrian supported the patriarch. Michael also did not mention Joscelin stealing the ritual objects for consecration. Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 611-2; tr. vol. III, pp. 231-2.

[7] Barsegh, for example, ended up under the protection of the Armenian prince Kogh Vasil, while Jacobite patriarchs had a strong base among the numerous monasteries around Mosul.

[8] "هه هعلم ىكه ىكه هل سلطنه. كىكه لعصلى لعسكه سنه هنوكه" Michael the Syrian. *Chronique*, vol. IV, p. 629; tr. vol, III, p. 259.

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confessor, and spoke Armenian fluently.[9] Baldwin, "who was a beautiful youth, fair to see, head and shoulders above all in his time, famous in war,"[10] was particularly mourned by the Armenians, "for he had more of a liking for the Armenians than the Franks."[11] When Athanasius VII excommunicated the bishop of Edessa, the Jacobite citizens of Edessa began to have their children baptized in the Latin church, fearing that the ordination of their own priests was invalid due to the controversy.[12] Yet they had no qualms about the validity of sacraments dispensed by a Latin priest. Although theoretically separated by belief and practice, Frankish, Armenian and Syrian laity found churches and monasteries, priests and monks to be conduits of divine grace irrespective of theology.

Syria and Palestine: A Comparison

The Franks in Palestine regarded the local Christian population there in much the same light as in Edessa, although Palestine differed in many respects from northern Syria. There the Franks ruled over a mostly Christian population whose local elites still held considerable authority and land. In Palestine, Muslims dominated political and socially, and correspondingly, local Christians communities had much less power. When Baldwin I marched south to be the first king of Jerusalem in November of 1100, his experience ruling Edessa for two years formed a library of political, religious and social encounters on which he would draw to rule his new realm. Fulcher of Chartres, his chaplain and chronicler, recorded that "when we approached the city [Jerusalem], everyone came out to meet

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[9] Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 412; Matthew of Edessa, "Continuation by Gregory the Priest," *Chronicle*, p. 245.

[10] *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, p. 145; tr. A. S. Tritton and H. A. R. Gibb, "The First and Second Crusades from an Anonymous Syriac Chronicle," in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1933), p.297.

[11] "*Եւ բազում քաջութիւն ցուցեալ մեծ եւ յաղթող զօրականն Քրիստոսի Պաղտոյինն անկաւ ի պատերազմի եւ սուգ մեծ թողեալ իւրոյ աշխարհի, զի առաւել սիրէր զազգն Հայոց քան զՓռանգաց:*" Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 412; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 245.

Baldwin, clergy as well as laity, Greeks also and Syrians, with crosses and candles. They conducted him to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher with great joy and honor, and praising God in ringing voices."[13] Such a welcome must have reassured Baldwin and Fulcher, reminding them of similar receptions with which they had been honored when first they entered northern Syria.

Population and Geography of Crusader Palestine

The principality that Baldwin came to rule in November of 1100 was only a sliver of land in the center of Palestine, essentially the cities of Jerusalem and Jaffa and strip of land connecting them (for a map of Palestine, see **fig. 2**). Under Baldwin's reign and those of his successors, the kingdom expanded throughout the early twelfth century, reaching its greatest extent in 1153, when the Franks captured Ascalon, the last Muslim-held city on the Levantine coast. By this time, the kings of Jerusalem ruled as far north as Beirut, and east over the Jordan River from the Gulf of Aqaba north to Banyas. In terms of modern geography, the Kingdom of Jerusalem incorporated the entire state of Israel, together with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as well as a western sliver of Jordan, the Golan Heights and the southern half of Lebanon. The Christian population was concentrated within particular areas of the kingdom. Ronnie Ellenblum has pointed out the concentration of Christian villages in the area between Jerusalem and Nablus. Other concentrations lay along the coast between Acre and Tyre and around Crac de Montreal (modern Kerak).

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[12] Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. IV, p. 602, tr. vol. III, XV, xiv, p. 212.

[13] "cumque ad urbem appropinquassemus, exierunt ei obviam tam clerici quam laici omnes; Graeci quoque ac Syri cum crucibus et cereis. Qui cum ingenti gaudio et honorificentia vocibus altisonis laudes agendo uque in ecclesia dominici Sepulchri eum deduxerunt." Fulcherius, *Historia*, II, iii, 13, p. 368; Ryan, *History*, p. 143.

Most Christians in the kingdom were Melkite. Historians have generally assumed that the Christian population spoke Arabic as their native language, but topographic evidence suggests that at least some communities continued to use Syriac as their primary spoken language.[14] Small populations of Jacobites flourished in a few cities, such as Acre and Tripoli, as well as in smaller villages, such as 'Abud, northwest of Jerusalem. The Armenian population was limited to small communities in Jerusalem and Jaffa as well as a few monasteries.

Melkite Bishops under the Crusaders

Robert Bartlett's seminal book, *The Making of Europe,* used the establishment of bishoprics as a way of mapping the expansion of Latin Europe in the High Middle Ages. The appearance of Latin clergy in the cities of the Levant as a result of the First Crusade illustrated his point. We should not let the map of spreading Latin Christianity, however, obscure the evidence of the perdurance and even expansion of the Melkite episcopate in twelfth-century Palestine. Historians have persistently argued that Latin bishops in the Levant displaced Melkite bishops. Bernard Hamilton has suggested that the crusaders used the Melkite ecclesiastical organization as a model for their own church. The Latin hierarchy, he argued, was largely intended to supplant the Melkite one, for the crusaders believed the Melkites and Latins were members of the same church, and therefore only one bishop could be the head of the communal body of Christians. As Latin princes held political power, and considered bishops to be part of the political establishment, it was clear to them that the ecclesiastical hierarchy had to be Latin. Bernard Hamilton insists that "at the Holy Sepulcher the Franks were merely implementing the same policy [expelling the local clergy

[14] Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,* (Cambridge

and bishops] they applied in all other Latin cathedrals: they did not initially contemplate sharing place of worship with Christians of other rites."[15] Joshua Prawer claimed that "the establishment of the Latin church in Syria and Palestine was accompanied by the destitution of the Greek and Melkite hierarchies and by an almost wholesale spoliation of the Byzantine sanctuaries. . . Byzantine bishops were replaced by Latins."[16]

What these assertions fail to notice or explain is that there were hardly any Melkite bishops in Palestine when the crusaders arrived, and, in fact, the Melkite hierarchy endured and even expanded under Frankish rule. Although we have few sources for this period, it appears that the number of Palestinian bishops dropped dramatically in the later eleventh century. Richard Rose argued that Jerusalem was the only place where a Latin bishop (there a patriarch) directly succeeded a Melkite one; in Caesarea there may have been some overlap between Latin and Melkite incumbents. Anastasios of Caesarea flourished sometime in the later eleventh century, (although we have no proof he was resident in the city), and one source indicated that a certain Sabas was bishop of the city c. 1115.[17] Elsewhere in Palestine episcopal sees sat empty. Gaza had a bishop in 1056, but he was martyred, perhaps after having written "A Dialogue with Achmed the Sarracen."[18] The struggle over Palestine

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Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 26-7.

[15] Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, (London: Variorum, 1980), pp. 161-2.

[16] Joshua Prawer, "Social Classes in the Crusader States: the "Minorities," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, vol. V., *The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. 73.

[17] Richard Barry Rose, *Pluralism in a Medieval Colonial Society the Frankish Impact on the Melkite Community during the First Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1187*, (Ph. D. Diss, Graduate Theologican Union, 1980), App. 2; Anastasios wrote a treatise on fasting, "De jejunio gloriosissimae Deiparae," *Patrologia Graecus*, vol. 127, pp. 519-532;

[18] *PG*, vol. 120, col. 821-832. Another bishop of Gaza, Sulaiman al-Gazzi, was also a poet and a theologian. He can only be dated to sometime before 1116. Joseph Nasrallah, "Sulaïmān al-Gazzī, évêque melchite de Gaza (XIe siècle)," *Oriens Christianus* 62 (1978), pp. 144-157.

between the Fatimids and Turkish forces in the eleventh century seems to have taken a dramatic toll on the institutions of the church.[19]

We find hardly any more bishops in Syria, despite Byzantine efforts to maintain them in office. At Antioch, Patriarch John IV had remained in the city during Turkish occupation and through the crusader siege of the city, suffering the indignity of being imprisoned in an iron cage and suspended from the walls of the city by the Turkish governor. When the crusaders gained the city, they enthroned him in the cathedral, recognizing his authority over Latins and Melkites alike.[20] He left the city in 1100, when a war between Bohemund, prince of Antioch, and the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, made Latins suspicious that he might be a Byzantine sympathizer. Despite having been expelled from the city, John was later recognized by William of Tyre as a true man of faith who perhaps should have been treated a little better by the Latins.[21] It is possible that other Byzantine cities, such as Lattakia, also had Melkite bishops, although no record of them survives.

Shortly before the arrival of the crusaders, Patriarch Symeon II of Jerusalem, perhaps the only episcopal leader left in Palestine, fled to Cyprus. From there, he co-operated with the Franks, writing letters to the west appealing for more aid.[22] Symeon, praised as a *vir sanctissimus* by Latin chroniclers, died in Cyprus at about the time the crusaders captured Jerusalem.[23] Albert of Aachen's eagerness to point out that he was indeed dead by the time

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[19] Hugh Kennedy, "The Melkite Church from the Islamic Conquest to the Crusades: Continuity and Adaptation in the Byzantine Legacy," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress*, (New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas, Publisher, 1986), pp. 325-343.

[20] Albertus Aquensis, "Historia Hierosolymitana," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades; Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. IV, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), V, 1, p. 433.

[21] Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 17. William of Tyre calls him "a true confessor of Christ." Willermus Tyrensis, "Historia rerum partibus transmarinis gestarum," in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. I, part, II, IV, 23, p. 274; translated in *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, tr. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), vol. I, p. 297.

[22] Comte Riant, "Inventaire critique des lettres historiques de croisades-Appendice," *Archive de l'Orient latin*, vol. I, p. 221.

[23] Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, VI, 29, p. 489.

the crusaders elected a replacement reveals some concern about the legitimacy of supplanting Melkite bishops with Latin ones.

Soon after the crusader conquest, more Melkite bishops could be found throughout Palestine than had been there in the previous fifty years. Although the evidence is often fragmentary, it suggests that Melkite bishops flourished in Tyre, Caesarea, Sidon, Tiberias, Gaza and Lydda. Bernard Hamilton has argued that John of Tyre and then Sabas of Caesarea were successively appointed patriarchs of Jerusalem by the Franks in the early twelfth century, intended to serve as liaisons for the local Christian priests and communities.[24] John and Sabas, however, did not appreciate the limitations of their assigned role, and soon settled in Constantinople. There the Byzantine Emperor used their presence as an opportunity to establish a patriarchate in exile. For other bishops we only have brief records of their existence. A Melkite bishop of Tiberias served as a mentor to the hermit Leontius in Constantinople in the mid-twelfth century. According the hermit's *vita*, the bishop returned to Palestine at the same time Leontius joined the monastery of Saint John the Theologian at Patmos.[25] The existence of a Melkite bishop of Tiberias is confirmed by a manuscript made for the priest Gerasimos in 1152.[26] Paul, bishop of Sidon, is known only

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[24] Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 179-180.

[25] Dmitris Tsougarakis, *The Life of Leontios*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993); Rose, *Pluralism*, pp. 342-7.

[26] "ετελειωθη το ιεροτατον και αγιον ευαγγελιον· δια συνδρομης ποθου τε πολλου και εξοδου του τιμιωτατου, μοναχου και ιερεως γερασιμου και ετεθη εις τον πανυμνητον ναον της υπερ αμομου, υπερενδοξου δεσποινης ημων θεοτοκου, της κατα την της τιβεριαδος αρχιεπισκοπην, οστις δε βουληθειη τουτο της αυτης αγιας εκκλησιας υστερησαι δια τινα χρειαν, εξει ταυτην καταδικον, εν τη του υιου αυτου κρισει, οθεν δε δεσμον αλυτον της ακοινωνισιας, και της του εψντου μεταλημψεως·ευχεσθε δε τω ταυτην την βιβλιον κτησαμενω ηγουν τω ρηθεντι μοναχω, και εμοι τω γραφει ευτελει ιερει γεωργιω· ελαβε δε τελος το ιεροτατον, και αγιον ευαγγελιον, κατα τον απριλλιον μηνα της τρεχουσης α ινδικτιωνος ετους δε ςχξ.

"The most sacred and holy gospel is now complete; towards the conclusion of great desire and most precious end, it was placed on behalf of the monk and priest Gerasimus in her famous church, the sanctuary of our pure lady the Theotokos in the archepiscopate of Tiberias, and whoever would wish to take away this gospel from this holy church for some purpose he would have this lady as a condemner, in

through his theological treatises in Arabic, which Paul Khoury dated to the mid-twelfth century.[27] Only five years after Saladin's conquest, the church of St. George in Lydda had a Melkite bishop. In 1192, the cleric visited Richard I, giving him a piece of the True Cross. A Latin chronicler recorded that the bishop had placed his flock under the protection of Saladin when he had first conquered the area around Jerusalem, suggesting he held office before Saladin's invasion.[28]

Meletios of Gaza and Eleutheropolis

But it is bishop Meletios, the Melkite bishop of Gaza, who grabs our attention due to the survival of his name in a Latin charter. In 1173, he negotiated an agreement with Josbert, the grandmaster of the Hospitallers, in which Meletios received the monastery of St. George at Gibelin (modern Bet Guvrin or Beit Djibrin, ancient Eleutheropolis).[29] The charter was written in both Greek and Latin, and in both sections Meletios was titled the archbishop of Gaza and Eleutheropolis. With Meletios, we can gain a greater sense of the

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the judgement of His Son, from whom [he would receive] an unbreakable bond of excommunication, and [separation from] the partaking of communion. Pray for the one having this book that is to say for the aforementioned monk, and for me the humble priest and scribe George. most holy gospel was brought to an end in the month of April on the of the current 1st indiction of the year 6660." Kirsopp and Silva Lake (eds.), *Dated Greek Miniscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, vol. I, *Manuscripts at Jerusalem, Patmos and Athens, Monunmenta Palaeographica Vetera*, 1st Series, (Boston: The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1934), p. 12. I would like to thank Sarah Brooks for help translating this section.

[27] Without greater knowledge of Arabic Christian literature, I can little argue against Khoury's conclusions. I do think it is at least a possibility that Paul held office before the twelfth century. *Paul d'Antioche, évêque melkite de Sidon (XIIe s.)*, ed and tr. Paul Khoury, (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, [1965]. Bernard Hamilton accepts the twelfth-century date (*Latin Church*, p. 183), but Claude Cahen expresses some doubts, *Orient et Occident au temps des croisades*, (Paris Aubier Montaigne, 1983), p. 214.

[28] "Quidam episcopus Syrianus de Sancto Georgio qui, destructa regione circa Jerusalem, cum eo primum venissent Saraceni, pro se et pro suo genere sub Salahadino tributerius exstiterat, cum quadam Sanctae Crucis particula venit ad regem Ricardum, cum maxima turba virorum ac mulierium gentis suae, et regi crucem illam dedit." "Itinerarium regis Ricardi,"in *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, vol. I, ed. William Stubbs, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, vol. 38, (London, 1864; reprinted Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprint, 1964), V, 52, p. 376.

[29] J. Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem*, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), vol.I, #443, p. 306-308. This charter has been reproduced by Delaville, "Trois chartres du XIIe siècle concernant l'ordre de St. Jean de Jerusalem," *Archives de l'Orient latin*, vol. I, pp. 414-5.

context in which he lived, and perhaps come to understand what the role local bishops played under the crusaders.

Gaza, which comes before Eleutheropolis in his title was the larger city, and may have been Meletios' main seat. Baldwin III conquered the city in 1149, and soon after turned it over to the Templars. Although William of Tyre indicated that the city was uninhabited when the crusaders refortified it, it seems likely that there was at least a nucleus of an urban population there before the city was rebuilt.[30] Over the next two decades, a vibrant city grew up under the protection of the Templar castle, until Saladin's forces burned and looted the town in 1170.

Although the crusaders ruled the city for only thirty-eight years, impressive architectural remains survive. A substantial church still stands in the center of the city, now the Friday mosque. Even though its eastern apse has disappeared, its graceful arched aisles reveal its past as the Latin parish of the city.[31] Built at approximately the same time was a smaller single nave church in the traditional Christian quarter of the city, now dedicated to St. Porphyrius.[32] Today it serves the Melkite population of the city, as it likely did in the twelfth century. Nor were these two churches the only crusader building projects in the city in those thirty-eight years. In addition to the castle built by Baldwin III, work on the city was probably ongoing. No archaeology has been done in the city, and the enormous influx of refugees into Gaza in the mid-twentieth century has obscured much of the topographical outlines that might give us clues to the layout of the medieval city.[33]

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[30] Meron Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, (New York: The Macmillian Co., 1970), pp. 189-194.

[31] Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993-), vol. I, s.v. 'Gaza,' pp. 208-220. The church is a three-aisled basilica with four bays, measuring at least 32m by 20m.

[32] The church measures 22.9m x 8.25m.

[33] Martin A. Meyer, *History of the City of Gaza*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1907) gives some sense of the city before 1948.

William of Tyre did describe the fortifications of the city in 1170, when they were overwhelmed by Saladin. "The fortress did not occupy the entire hill upon which the city was built. But, in order to provide for their own security, the people who had come there to live tried to protect the rest of the hill with a wall and gates. This wall was, however, rather low and far from strong."[34] The state of city in 1170 should give us some clue as to the priority the Templars and citizens put on building these two churches. Even as the city was defended only by a low wall, the residents of the city found the money and masons to build two large, well-crafted churches, one for the Latin community and one for the Melkites.

Despite the impressive size of the Latin church in Gaza, the city had no Latin bishop. Gaza was an important see in the Byzantine era, and the corresponding lack of a Latin bishop in the twelfth century is puzzling. A Latin bishop would have helped to govern the city and encouraged Frankish settlement and pilgrimage. The fact that the see of the neighboring of Ascalon had been transferred to Bethlehem put added importance on having a Latin bishop in Gaza, for he would have been the only one on the Palestine coast south of Caesarea.[35] The explanation for Gaza's bishopless state can perhaps be found with the Templars. Introducing a bishop to a city already controlled by a religious order would only have created ecclesiastical complications, due to the necessity to collect titles and apportion ecclesiastical property.[36] Meletios—a Melkite bishop subject to the Latin Patriarch of

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[34] "Castrum ergo totum collem, supra quem civitas fundata fuerat, ut praediximus, non potuit occupare: sed convenientes quidam ad loci illius habitationem, ut totius ibi morarentur, reliquam partem collis, portis et muro, sed humili et infirmo, tentaverant munire." Willermus Tyrensis, "Historia," *RHC*, vol. I, part, II, XX, 20, pp. 975-7; trans. Babcock and Krey, *History of Deeds*, vol. II, pp. 374-5. The only archaeological investigation into the walls of Gaza were in the 1920's, and focused on the ancient city. J. Garstang, "The Walls of Gaza," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (1920), pp. 156-7.

[35] The see of Ascalon was transferred to Bethlehem in 1108. After the capture of Ascalon in 1153, Patriarch Fulcher appointed a bishop for Ascalon, but the bishop of Bethlehem successfully protested to the pope. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte in Königreich Jerusalem, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, bd. 26, (Stuttgart Anton Hiersemann, 1977), pp. 44-80.

[36] For another example of conflict between different ecclesiastical institutions over tithes, see Ellenblum, *Rural Frankish Settlement*, p. 106-112. The opportunity for such conflict is present whenever one institution owns property within the sphere of authority of another.

Jerusalem—preserved the ecclesiastical structure of the patriarchate and could serve the needs of the local Christian community, while leaving the Temple to serve the Latin population. Perhaps even more important was that this system left the Templars in control of parochial tithes, for tithing was not a part of the Melkite tradition. This supposition is further strengthened by a charter from Pope Alexander III in 1167, granting to the Patriarch of Jerusalem the rights and revenues of all abandoned bishoprics that had formerly existed within his patriarchate. The pope specifically mentioned the dioceses of Nablus, Darum and Jericho, but not Gaza or Gibelin, even though they fit the criteria the pope set out.[37]

The damage done to the city in 1170 by Saladin may well have been the impetus that drove Meletios to leave Gaza and settle in Gibelin. There the ecclesiastical situation was much the same as in Gaza, for the city was controlled by the Hospitallers, another military order. Gibelin was smaller than Gaza, and the only church found there is the large chapel within the Hospitaller fortress. Nor do any other churches appear in the historical record, with the exception of the monastery of St. George, which was given to Meletios. The castle chapel was inserted after the original construction of the castle, and its size (some 30m by 16.5m) necessitated that the south-east corner tower be demolished, undermining the strength of the fortress. Pringle dates its construction to sometime after 1153.[38] Although Meletios may well have conducted services in the monastery, the appearance of a large church at the same time as the appearance of a Melkite bishop in the same town is intriguing.

The charter between Meletios and the Hospitallers reveals the close ties that could exist between local clerics and the Latin establishment. Far from considering indigenous

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[37] Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, (Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1984), #142, pp. 275-8.

[38] Pringle, *Crusader Churches*, s. v. 'Bait Jibrin,' pp. 95-101.

Christians to be heretics or schismatics, Frankish clergy incorporated local hierarchies into their own. This closeness extended beyond administrative convenience, for the charter stipulated that when Meletios died, he would be a confrater of the Hospital. If either Meletios or Josbert were aware of the theological and liturgical issues that theoretically should have separated them, they showed no evidence of it. Nor can we conclude that Meletios belonged to the Latin hierarchy; the charter explicitly names him "archbishop of the Greeks and Syrians living in Gaza and Gibelin."[39] Here, the distinction among communities is linguistic, for the Greeks and Syrians belonged to one theological and ecclesiastical community, i.e. the Melkites, but two separate linguistic ones—Greek and Syriac. For the Hospitallers and Templars, a local bishop was better than a Latin one, for someone like Meletios presented no challenge to their own authority, would never appeal to the pope against them, and could serve as a liaison to the local Christian communities they governed.

Melkite priests

The existence of so many Melkite bishops implies a substantial body of lower clergy also existed and we are fortunate that the names of some Melkite priests have survived. A colophon from a manuscript in the library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem reveals that a scribe named Basil copied a Greek manuscript at the Church of Jerusalem for George, who was given the titles of "magistrate and judge of the Holy City and treasurer and

[39] "Notum sit omnibus, tam posteris quam presentibus, quod ego Josbertus, Dei dispensatione magister Hospitalis Iherusalem, licet indignus, presto et concedo Meleto, Suriano, Surianorum et Grecorum, Gaza et Jabin habitantium, finesque eorum archiepiscopo . . ." Delaville, "Trois chartres," *Archives de l'Orient latin*, vol. 1, pp. 414-5. Claude Cahen has pointed a similar example from the thirteenth century, where Latin priests leased a ruined church to a local Greek priest. "Un document concernant les Melkites et les Latins d'Antioche au temps des Croisades," *Revue des études byzantines* 29 (1971), pp. 285-292; reprinted in *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus*, (London: Variorum Reprints, 1974).

keeper of the sacred vessels of Holy Christ our God of the Anastasis."[40] Several more names of Melkite priests of the Holy Sepulcher come from the previously-mentioned charter between Meletios and the Hospitallers. Witnessing the charter were Theoktistos the abbot (προτοπαπᾶς), Ioannes, priest and prior (δευτεροπάπιος), Georgios the deacon (προτόδηακονος), Stephanos the priest (εἰρεὺς), and Abramios the deacon (διακόνος).[41] This may not have been the full complement of Melkite priests; if we compare this to the Latin canons of the Holy Sepulcher we know held office in the same year, we find eight canons listed in six different charters for 1173.[42] If we had more documents, it is likely that we would find that the Latin and Melkite hierarchies at the Holy Sepulcher were roughly the same size.

We should not, however, imagine the two separate hierarchies serving in the holiest of Christian shrines interacting only with members of their own communities. In times of crisis, the various clergy of the city would process together around the city. Fulcher of Chartres reports that in 1123 after Baldwin II had been captured by Balak, emir of Aleppo,

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[40] "Ἐκτίσθ(η) ἡ δέλτος αὐτη κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ εὐλαβοὺς Γεωργ(ιου), ἀρχων καὶ κριτ(οῦ) τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως καὶ σακελλίου (supra χαρτοφύλακος)τὲ καὶ μεγάλου σκευοφύ(λακος) τῆς ἁγιας Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡμῶν Αναστ(άσεω)ς. ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτού:--

Ἐγράφε δὲ καὶ ειρμώσθη δια χειρὸς βασιλείου τοῦ Αγιοπολίτου, γραφεῦστέ καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀναγνώστης τῆς ἁγίας Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡμῶν Αναστ(άσεως) ἐν τῆι ἁγία πόλει Ἱ(ερουσα)λήμ. εἰληφεν δὲ τέλος ἡ αὐτη δέλτο(ς) ἡμέ(ρα) β ὥρα γ΄ τῆς ἡμέ(ρας) εἰς τ(ὴν) κζ΄ τοῦ φευπουαρίου μηνός. ἔτους κόσμ(ου) ἐξακισχιλιοστῶι ἑξακοσίω τριάκοντα (=1122): --ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) ιε; παρακαλῶι οὖν καὶ λιπαρῶ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντας εν τῆι ταύτηι δέλτω εὔχεσθε ὑπεράμφοτέρων τῶ γράψαντι ἅμα καὶ τῶ κτισαμένω; ἵνα ῥυσθῶμεν ἀμφότεροι τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως ἀμήν." A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta Hierosolymitikes Stachyologias*, (St. Petersburg, 1894, anastatic reprint, Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1963), vol. II, pp. 252-3. For a reproduction of this page of the manuscript, see Kirsopp and Silva Lake (eds.), *Dated Greek Miniscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, vol. I, *Manuscripts at Jerusalem, Patmos and Athens, Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera*, 1st Series, (Boston: The American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1934), pl. 16.

[41] I have preserved the unorthodox Greek spelling of the manuscript rather than standardize it.

[42] The eight Latin canons are: Constantinus, Hugo de Nigella, Johannes Pictavensis, Odo, Petrus, prior, Petrus, cantor, Petrus, Rogerius. Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire*, #115, 158, 159, 162, app. 4, app. 5.

and a Fatimid invasion was threatening the city, "we who remained at Jerusalem, Latins, Greeks and Syrians alike, did not cease to pray for our brothers who were thus placed in tribulation, to bestow alms on the needy, and at the same time to visit piously in barefoot procession all the churches of the Holy City."[43]

Easter, 1101—the Crisis of the Holy Fire

A religious crisis in 1101 reveals the ways in which the local Christian clergy could clash and cooperate with royal, patriarchal, and even papal authority in the holiest shrine of Christendom. On the eve of every Easter, Holy Fire descended from heaven to light the lamps at the tomb of Jesus, signaling to priest and pilgrim alike that the True Light had reentered the world. In 1101, the Fire failed to appear, to the consternation of the waiting crowd of Christian faithful. The common historiographic gloss has been that this catastrophe was the result of the crusader expulsion from the Holy Sepulchre of local Christian clergy, who were the custodians of the secrets of the Holy Fire.[44] Scholars have since realized that the Melkite clergy were never in fact expelled,[45] but the events of 1101 have not been re-interpreted.

The year 1101 was the first Easter that Baldwin I ruled Jerusalem, and it is to him and a complex series of political events that we should look for an explanation of this crisis.

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[43] "nos autem, qui Hierusalem remanseramus, pro fratribus nostris in tribulatione sic positis orare et eleemosynas egenis impetire et per universas civitatis sanctae ecclesias processiones pie facere, tam Latini quam Graeci atque Syri, interim nudipedes non cessavimus." Fulcherius, *Historia*, III, ch. 18, p. 665, tr. Ryan, *History*, p. 242.

[44] Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 170. The Holy Fire was first recorded in 867 by the pilgrim Bernard the Wise. "Itinerariun Bernardi, monachi franci," in *Descriptiones Terrae Sanctae*, ed. Titus Tobler, (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1874), pp. 92-3. Translated in "The Itinerary of Bernard the Wise," tr. J. H. Bernard, in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, (London: 1893; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1971), p. 7. For more on the Holy Fire, see Otto Meinardus, "The Ceremony of the Holy Fire in the Middle Ages and To-Day," *Bulletin de la société d'archeologie copte*, 16 (1961-2), pp. 243-52; Marius Canard, "La destruction de l'église de la Résurrection par le Calife Hākim et l'histoire de la descente du feu sacré," *Byzantion* 35 (1965), pp. 16-43.

[45] Prawer, "the "Minorities," in *A History of the Crusades*, p. 73.

What then is the significance of the failure of the Holy Fire? To understand, we must go back to November, 1100 when Baldwin seized power in Jerusalem, and follow the chronicler Albert of Aachen. Baldwin had come to power through something that amounted to a coup. He claimed Jerusalem as the heir to his brother, Godfrey of Bouillon, but the patriarch of Jerusalem had a stronger claim, and Daimbert of Pisa, who sat in the chair of St. James in 1100, was not a man to allow secular authority to infringe on the rights of the Church. Daimbert, originally the archbishop of Pisa and a papal legate, had arrived in the Holy Land in the summer of 1099 with a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships. He had aided Bohemund in the siege of Lattakia, and traveled south with him to Jerusalem in December of the same year. Their arrival with the Pisan fleet and an Antiochene army came at a crucial time for Godfrey, who was facing attacks by the Fatimids with very few forces under his command. Together Bohemund and Daimbert used their influence to depose Arnulf of Chocques as patriarch of Jerusalem, and elect Daimbert in his place. Following his elevation, both Bohemund and Godfrey did homage to Daimbert for their principalities. This was a decided advantage for Bohemund, for his claim to Antioch was still contested by the Byzantine Emperor, and holding Antioch as a patriarchal fief was a stronger claim than by mere conquest. Furthermore, Daimbert in Jerusalem would not be able to exercise much influence in Antioch, some two hundred and fifty miles to the north. For Godfrey this overlordship came at a much greater cost. He needed Daimbert's fleet to conquer strategic seaports; Daimbert thus had the leverage to force him to cede to the patriarchate Jerusalem and Jaffa. Godfrey finally agreed to his demands on Easter day 1100. These two cities made up the greater part of the kingdom at that time. Under the agreement, Godfrey maintained control of the two cities until he could conquer two others to replace them. Should Godfrey die without a legitimate heir, all his territory would pass to the patriarchate.

When Godfrey did die on July 18, 1100, Daimbert should have been able to seize control of Jerusalem. He, however, thought the greatest threat to his claim came not from Baldwin, who was ruling Edessa several hundred miles to the north, but from Tancred, who was then busily establishing a independent principality in the Galilee. Daimbert therefore stuck close to the young Norman in Haifa, while Godfrey's followers seized the citadel of Jerusalem, and summoned Baldwin from Edessa to claim the city. Despite Daimbert's efforts to thwart him, Baldwin arrived in Jerusalem. Daimbert chose to recognize Baldwin as Godfrey's successor, and even went so far as to crown Baldwin king—not in Jerusalem, which Daimbert still claimed, but in Bethlehem.

When the Holy Fire failed to appear in 1101, Baldwin and Daimbert had not resolved their competing claims to Jerusalem. Baldwin came to his own solution, which was to drive the patriarch out of town through a combination of attacks, including humiliating Daimbert at Easter with the help of the local Melkite clergy. The date, fittingly, was one full year after Daimbert had extracted the agreement from Godfrey. Baldwin was at an advantage at this point. The arrival of a Genoese fleet meant that Baldwin no longer had to rely on Daimbert's Pisan flotilla, and Tancred, an enemy of Baldwin's and therefore potential ally of Daimbert's, had left Palestine for Antioch. In the spring of 1101, Baldwin launched a direct attack on Daimbert, and with the help of a newly-arrived papal legate, Maurice of Porto, he had Daimbert suspended from office for, among other things, plotting against the king.[46] Daimbert managed to be reinstated in order to perform the Easter liturgy through a dint of pleading and a judicious bribe.[47]

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[46] "Nulla deinceps mora, die statuto, concilio Fidelium, episcoporum abbatumque, in audentia omnium qui aderant, et praesentia legati sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, Patriarcham assistentem Baldewinus rex reum perjurii, traditionis regni Iherusalem, homicidii, ut a Boemundo occideretur in via qua a Rohas Hierosolymam ascenderet, deprehensis litteris criminando, imputando, astruxit, sub testimonio totius Hiersolymitanae Ecclesiae; et ideo non posse eum ultra episcopari, nisi valeat ab his expurgari. Qui minime de omnibus sibi illatis calumpnis hoc tempore valens excusari, et praecipue de sacrilegio ligni

Albert of Aachen did not record what happened at Easter that year, but an anonymous Latin chronicler did. On Easter Saturday, the pilgrims and resident Christians gathered at the Holy Sepulcher to witness the annual miracle. When the Fire did not appear in the ninth hour, as it traditionally did, the crowd grew restless, and the praying grew more intense. Finally, the patriarch himself knelt in prayer within the tomb, hoping that his rank might win God's favor and bring about the anticipated miracle. "When, however, his fervent prayer and supplications were prolonged, and when with downcast face he at last came out of the Sepulcher without having obtained the grace he sought, a powerful feeling of despair took possession of everyone there."[48] This moment when the patriarch should appear at his greatest glory, celebrating the resurrection of the Lord, only revealed his own impotence and God's dissatisfaction with him.

The Holy Fire subsequently appeared on Easter day when Daimbert and his clergy left the Holy Sepulcher to pray at the Temple of the Lord, leaving the Greek and Syrian priests behind to pray in peace and bring about the anticipated miracle. The success of the

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sanctae crucis, quam partim minuit ac dispersit, suspensus est a divino officio; dataeque sunt ei adhuc induciae, si forte aliquam excusationis viam posset reperire." Albert, *Historia*, VII, 48, p. 539.

[47] "Patriarcha itaque Daibertus, videns se officio suo privari, quo ea die universi Patriarchae, sui antecessores, in eodem monte monte Olivarum solito more utebantur, chrisma et oleum consecrantes, humilis et supplex cum lacrimis Regem conveniens, instare coepit ne hac die tam leviter et viliter ab officio suo expelleretur, et sic in ore omnium Peregrinorum haberetur. Rege autem multum resistente et plurima illi obiciente, quae idem adversum se praesumpserat, sicut anxius ei magis ac magis precibus instabat, rememorans qualiter ab eo unctus et in Regem creatus sit. Sed nec sic eum Rege audiente, talentum ei treicentorum bisantorum obtulit in secreto auris suae. Quo corruptus Rex, in omnibus deinceps petitioni Patriarchae acquievit; et ideo tam grandis pecuniae promissione Rex gavisus . . . Albert, *Historia*, VII, 49, p. 540.

[48] "tunc patriarcha noster, sumptis claviculis, reseravit hostiolum dominici Sepulcri, et introgressu autem, cum lumen, quod desiderabamus, non inveniret, mox ante ipsum sacrosanctum Sepulchrum supplex ad orandum flendo se prostravit, poscens omnipotentis Dominici misercordium, ut ignem ab olim consuetum, a populo suo supplicante tam deseratum, emittere dignaretur. No quoque cuncti *Kyrieleison* alte concrepantes, Domino supplicabamus exspectantes, quod patriarcha de Sepulcro regrediens, lumen, ut sperabamus, inventum, a Domino missum, nobis omnibus non impetrasset, tristissimus ad nos inde exiens, ignem non invenisse monstravit: quo comperto perterriti et contristati valde sumus." Fulcherius Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer, (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätbuchhandlung, 1913), pp. 831-4; translated in "The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel," , tr. C. W. Wilson, *The Library of the Pilgrims' Palestine Text Society*, (London: 1895; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1971), appendix V, pp. 106-8.

Melkite priests at summoning the Holy Fire demonstrated to the larger Christian community that God did not consider Daimbert to be the true patriarch, worthy to officiate at His Holy Sepulcher. As this is the only instance when the Holy Fire failed to appear in the crusader period (or perhaps ever), its cause is unlikely to have been accidental. A collaboration between Baldwin and the local clergy, suggested by their common interest in removing Daimbert from office, is reminiscent of Baldwin's ascent to power in Edessa, where he similarly associated himself with local cults and traditions to establish his authority.[49] The benefits of this collaboration to Baldwin are clear, but what the local clergy achieved for themselves is less obvious. Possibly confiscated land was returned to them, or perhaps they were just as pleased as Baldwin to be rid of the authoritarian Daimbert.[50]

But this was not the last that Baldwin saw of Daimbert. In the fall of 1102 the deposed patriarch returned to Jerusalem with Tancred and Antiochene soldiers again behind him, and again Baldwin needed them just as much as his brother had in 1099. Tancred insisted that Daimbert be reinstated before he would agree to aid the king. Baldwin acquiesced, but shortly thereafter, Daimbert was again deposed by a council headed by Robert of Paris, another papal legate. His successor was the humble Evremar, who Albert of Aachen described as "a clerk who was well-esteemed; he was most generous and good-natured in giving alms to the poor; he was devout and had a good reputation."[51] His is the

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[49] See Albert of Aachen's description of his adoption by T'oros, Albertus Aquensis, "Historia Hierosolymitana," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades; Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. IV, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879), XXI, p. 353, and his oath of loyalty, Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 280; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 169.

[50] We can again pick up the story with Albert of Aachen after Easter. Humiliated in front of the population of Jerusalem, Daimbert was then accused of stealing money intended for the defense of the Holy Land. The patriarch's personal property was seized, and he fled to Jaffa, and then to Antioch. Soon after, Baldwin conquered Caesarea and Arsuf with Genoese help. Had he done this while Daimbert was still in office or with the help of the Pisan fleet, the patriarch may well have argued that now that Baldwin had two other cities, he should honor the agreement his brother made, and surrender Jerusalem and Jaffa to him. Baldwin effectively could not expand his kingdom until he gotten rid of Daimbert.

[51] Nec mora, consilio ejusdem Roberti cardinalis, cleri quoque ac totius populi electione, Evremerus quidem, vir et clericu boni testimonii, praeclarus ac hilaris distributor elemosinarum, vice et

earliest surviving Latin patriarchal seal; it was embossed with two concentric inscriptions: one, saying "EVREMARUS PATRIARCHA HIERUS(A)L(E)M," and the other saying "Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΤΑΦΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΙΗΣ(ΟΥΣ) Χ(ΡΙ)Σ(ΤΟΣ)," (the holy tomb of the Lord Jesus Christ)."[52] This bilingual sign authority was perhaps a tacit recognition of the presence and quiet influence of the Melkite canons of the Anastasis.

Melkite Critiques of the Latin Clergy

The co-operation between Baldwin and the canons of the Anastasis should not blind us to local frustration and resentment against the Latin ecclesiastical establishment. The pilgrimage text of John Phokas, a Byzantine pilgrim in 1185, allows us to travel with someone who interacted largely with Melkite priests and local Christian communities. John was a soldier who fought in the armies of Manuel Komnenos in Cilicia, and had faced the Franks in battle. While John's attitudes were not necessarily those of Palestinian Christians, it is still possible to catch glimpses of the experiences of local Christians, particularly the clergy. At the church of St. George in Lydda, John heard a story telling how St. George protected his shrine from the priests serving there. Although he did not describe the religious background of the priests telling the story, the account they related to him of a Latin bishop who presumptuously opened the tomb of St. George and was scorched as a result suggests that they were not Latins, but Melkites who could speak Greek with John.[53]

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loco Daibert Patriarcha constitutus, successit, omni studio religionis ac bonae conversationis, in amore fraternitatis et caritate, illic in templo Dominici sepulchri Deo serviens, et regi Baldwinus contra Sarracenos et incredulos fidelis adjutor exsistens." Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, IX, XVII, p. 600. Translation by Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 56.

[52] Comte Melchior de Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, (Paris: Librairie de Victor Didron, 1860), p. 88.

[53] John Phocas, "A General Description of the Settlements and Places belonging to Syria and Phoenicia on the Way from Antioch to Jerusalem, and of the Holy Places of Palestine," in *Jerualem*

The architectural remains at St. George allow us to speculate how Melkite and Latin priests might have shared the shrine. Like so many other churches in Palestine, St. George was originally an early Byzantine basilica, but was largely destroyed in the early eleventh century by the anti-Christian purges of Caliph Hakim. A small secondary basilica survived, however, and the Christian community of Lydda held services there throughout the eleventh century while caring for the tomb of St. George in the ruins of the old church. Denys Pringle has proposed that when the crusaders rebuilt the main church, they allowed the local Melkite community to continue to use the smaller basilica for their services.[54] Another possibility also presents itself. The crusaders rebuilt the main church on its Byzantine foundations, with three apses that would have allowed for the practice of both liturgies at separate altars within the same church. The Latin priests likely took control of the tomb of St. George, which formerly had been in the care of the local clergy, which as was discussed earlier, included a Melkite bishop. The story John heard might capture some of the resentment felt by the local bishop and clergy of the Latin usurpation of the control of the tomb of the saint.

Melkite Monks

Perhaps the most influential members of the Melkite church in Palestine were not the bishops and priests, but the monks and abbots of the monastery of Mar Saba.[55] The

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Pilgrimage 1099-1185, ed. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill and W. F. Ryan, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), p. 335.

[54] Pringle, *Crusader Churches*, s. v. "Lydda," vol. II, pp.9-27.

[55] We can unfortunately say less about Armenian priests and monks. Matthew of Edessa notes that the *Katholikos* Vahram was in the Holy City at the time of the crusader conquest, and he survived. Nor does Matthew mention the death of any Armenians in his account of the capture of Jerusalem. Indeed, Matthew suggests that the Muslims threatened to kill the *katholikos*. The crusaders may well have been accompanied by Armenian soldiers from Antioch and Edessa who could ensure the survival of the Armenian community. Matt'eos Urhayetsi, *Zhamanagakrut'yun*, p. 286; Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 173. Evidence suggests the Armenian priests and monks of St. James enjoyed close relations with both the

monastery, one of the oldest and most respected in Palestine, had been home to St. John of Damascus, and continued to be the center of Palestinian monasticism throughout the Umayyad and Abbasid eras.[56] The Russian abbot Daniel, who visited the Holy Land in 1105-6, stayed at the guesthouse of the monastery in Jerusalem, and even had a Sabaite monk as his guide for his visits to the holy places throughout Palestine during his sixteenth month pilgrimage.[57] Daniel's account of the Easter festivities in Jerusalem demonstrate the honor shown to the monks, particularly by the king. Daniel wished to place his lamp on the Holy Sepulcher on Good Friday, so that it might be lit with the others by the miraculous Holy Fire on Easter Saturday. To this end, he went to Baldwin I, who "knew me well and loved me greatly, for he is a kind and very humble man and not in the least bit proud."[58] The king gave him permission to hang his lamp on the tomb, at the top of which were the lamp of the Greek priests, and in the middle the Greek monastic lamps. It is unclear where the Frankish lamps hung, but Daniel noted that they were never lit by the Holy Fire. On Holy Saturday Daniel joined the royal procession to the Holy Sepulcher as a member of the party of the abbot of Mar Sabas, who held a place of honor in the king's retinue. Once at

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Frankish clergy and laity. One of the first documents in the cartulary of the Order of St. Lazarus, dated from somewhere between 1130 and 1145, recorded the donation of a cistern by an Armenian monk named Abraham.[55] His gift was confirmed by the Latin patriarch. For Abraham, the charitable works of the brothers of the order had no single confessional claim; while the brothers may all have been Latin, the work that they did was mandated for all Christians. This early connection between the Order of St. Lazarus and the Armenians is suggestive. In the thirteenth-century law treatise of John of Ibelin, the head of the order is listed with the archbishops of the Armenians and the Jacobites, rather than with the other Latin ecclesiastics. Despite the survival of thirty twelfth-century charters, we have only the name of one member of the order. It is possible that the Order of St. Lazarus may have begun as a local Christian institution, and was only Latinized late in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century. Comte de Marsy, "Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'ordre de Saint Lazare, en Terre-Sainte," *Archives de l'Orient latin*, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884), #1, p. 123.

[56] For intellectual significance of the monastery, see Sidney Griffith, "The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic," *The Muslim World* 78 (1988), pp. 1-28, reprinted in *Arabic Christianity in the Monasteries of Ninth Century Palestine*, (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992).

[57] Daniel the Abbot, "The Life and Journey of Daniel, Abbot of the Russian Land," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*, eds. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill and W. F. Ryan, (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1988), pp. 120-171.

[58] Daniel the Abbot, p. 166.

the Holy Sepulcher, the king stood on a dais next to the main altar in the now-destroyed western Byzantine apse. It is less clear where Daniel and the abbot of Mar Sabas stood. Daniel wrote of being "above" the tomb, opposite the great altar, yet able to see into the tomb itself. With him were also the Melkite priests.

Daniel's account gave a few clues about the ecclesiastical situation in Jerusalem in 1107. Most noticeable is the lack of a patriarch. We know that both Daimbert and his replacement Evremar were in Rome, seeking confirmation of their claims to the patriarchal throne from the pope. In their absence, Baldwin played a prominent role in the Easter ceremonies. He gave orders that Daniel's lamp be suspended on the sepulcher; he sat on the right of the great altar, and the doors of the tomb were sealed with the royal insignia. Baldwin's candle was the first one lit once the bishop had come out of the tomb with the Holy Fire; from his Daniel and all others lit their candles.

Although Daniel did not criticize the Latins directly at any point in his account, some signs of resentment filtered through in his description of the events of Easter Saturday. Daniel first suggested that the Latins "mumbled" their responses to the Holy Liturgy; he pointed out that the lamps of the Franks hanging on the outside of the Sepulcher were never lit by the Holy Fire; and third he mentioned that the Latin bishop had to check three times before the Holy Fire appeared.[59] Given the little contact that Daniel had with Latins before his pilgrimage, these ecclesiastical critiques may well be derived from his monastic hosts.

Even in this early period, the Melkite clergy had an established a role in the Easter liturgy of the Holy Sepulcher, as did the abbot of Mar Sabas and other monastics and ascetics. Furthermore, Daniel links their presence to royal patronage. They are there as part of the royal retinue, not as part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. These close bonds between

[59] Daniel the Abbot, pp. 168-9.

the royal family and the monastery of Mar Sabas were reinforced by gifts made to the monastery by Baldwin II's daughter, Melisende. In 1163 or 1164, Meletios, the abbot of Mar Sabas,[60] sold to the Latin canons of the Holy Sepulcher three *gastinas*[61] for the sum of four hundred and eighty bizants. The charter further records that the three *gastinas* had been given to the monastery by Queen Melisende so that the monks might distribute twenty-four loaves of bread to the poor every Saturday.[62] We can only suspect that these were not the only gifts the royal family gave the monastery. As Melisende's maternal family were Melkites, her patronage may reflect her own private piety. However, supporting the monastery may also have been a pragmatic political decision, intended to garner support for the Frankish monarchy.

The Jacobite Church

Melisende supported other local Christian religious communities as well, most prominently the Jacobites. The largest Jacobite communities were in northern Syria and Mesopotamia, but a bishopric and small monastic settlement had maintained a tenuous existence in Jerusalem.[63] A series of colophons from twelfth-century Syriac manuscripts describe a continuing legal dispute the monastery had with a Frank, resulting in royal intervention. The claims of each party went back to the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. When the crusaders captured the Holy City, the Jacobite community had already fled the

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[60] Some have suggested that he is identical with Meletios, bishop of Gaza and Gibelin in 1173.

[61] *Gastina* is a confusing Latin term, found largely in the Levant, which seems to correspond with the Arabic term "khirbet," and designates land that perhaps once was a village, but has reverted to agricultural land.

[62] Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #133, pp. 259-60; this sale is confirmed by Pope Alexander III in 1168. #146, p. 285. For more on this transaction, see Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Bd. 26, *Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1977), pp. 406-411

[63] Johannes Pahlitzsch, "St. Maria Magdalena, St. Thomas und St. Markus. Tradition und Geschichte dreier syrisch-orthodoxer Kirchen in Jerusalem," *Oriens Christianus* 81 (1997), pp 82-106.

city, escaping the persecution of Turkish governors of the city. As a result, their property fell to individual crusaders, who considered it abandoned. Two villages in particular, Bayt 'Arif and 'Adassiyya, fell to a Frankish knight named Geoffrey of the Tower of David. Soon after 1099, Geoffrey was captured by the Fatimids, and the Jacobite community returned to Jerusalem.

> After that the late sainted patriarch, my lord Athanasius, came to Jerusalem on this account and my Lord Cyril, the metropolitan, returned from Egypt, and together they presented themselves to the king. They exhibited the deeds of sale of the said villages and they brought some of the old men of the place as witnesses, both believers and Muslims, so that the king and his chieftains were convinced that these places belonged to the Church and that he (Geoffrey) had taken them unlawfully. The king gave back those places to our blessed father, the aforementioned bishop, though our father had to pay out a great deal of gold to the king and to many others for this reason.[64]

Some thirty years after the restoration of the property, an elderly Geoffrey was finally released from captivity and returned to Jerusalem. The Latin community was astonished to have one of the original conquerors of Jerusalem returned to them, and when the old man petitioned to have his property returned to him, King Fulk (1131-1143) enthusiastically reinstated the two villages to him. What was the Jacobite community to do? Bishop Ignatios then "sent word to the queen (Melisende)—long may she live and enjoy favor deservedly—who [had learned] the fear of God from her mother the queen and who [was full] of mercy for our Church . . ."[65] Although Melisende may have been eager to help the monks, she had other reasons to be offended at her husband's decision. She insisted on her right to be included in all royal decisions, for according to the will of her father Baldwin II,

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[64] "[illegible]" Abbé Martin, "Les premiers croisés et les syriens jacobites de Jérusalem," *Journal Asiatique* 8 (1889), p. 43; translated in Andrew Palmer, "The History of the Syrian Orthodox in Jerusalem, Part Two Queen Melisende and the Jacobite Estates," *Oriens Christianus 76* (1992), p. 78. The scribe notes the joy of the Melkites when the Jacobites lost their property, as the Melkites had already lost theirs

[65] "[illegible]" Martin, "Les premiers croisés," p 46; Palmer, "The History of the Syrian Orthodox" p. 79. Another property dispute arose between the Jacobites and the canons of the Holy

they were to rule together. The queen immediately sent a messenger to her husband, and after a dint of negotiation, the properties were again returned to the monks. A third colophon details how Melisende and her son Baldwin III helped the Jacobites gain control of a third village in 1148.[66]

The two colophons that detailed these property disputes reveal a close connection between royal authority and patronage of local Christian clerics and monks. In both cases, the Jacobites appealed directly to royal authority, and did not seek an aristocratic or ecclesiastical ally. Even when the king had already ruled against them, the monks addressed the queen rather than anyone outside the royal family. The colophons also reveal a fundamental enthusiasm on the part of the Jacobites for the royal family and the political authority they represent. The first colophon refers to the king as "our victorious king, the king of the believing people of the Franks, Lord Fulk, with the queen and their children protected by God."[67] A third Syriac colophon describes the events of the second crusade as signs of "divine zeal." Nor we can we attribute this to high minded acknowledgement of all Christians as people of faith; the scribe shows clear hostility to the Melkites.

Archaeological evidence suggests that other local monasteries also had crusader patrons. The ruins of a monastic complex survive today amidst the town of Dair al-Asad, located in the foothills east of Acre, on the road to Safad. The first twelfth-century mention of the village comes in a charter of 1179, in which Baldwin IV granted custody of Dair al-Asad to his uncle Joscelin III of Edessa, who had married the youngest daughter of

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Sepulcher over the villages of Ramatha and Hadessa, which was resolved in 1161, though we not know what the resolution was. Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #131, p. 258.

[66] Andrew Palmer suggests that their claim to this village was dubious. Palmer, "History of the Syrian Orthodox," p. 87.

[67] Abbé Martin, "Les premiers croisés," p. 41.

the previous owner.[68] Archaeological evidence suggests that the building was constructed in the twelfth century. Although textual sources do not mention a monastery there until the thirteenth century, they do refer to the village as the "terra que dicitur de Sancto Georgio," which suggests some ecclesiastical association.[69] It is possible that the village took its name from the monastery. A thirteenth-century pilgrim recorded the existence of monastery dedicated to Saint George on the road between Acre and Safad, noting that it housed Greek monks.[70] Pringle also noted certain decorative techniques, such as the moulding, which linked it to other Melkite churches in Palestine.[71] Furthermore, Ronnie Ellenblum pointed to later Islamic evidence that a monastery continued to exist at Dair al-Asad after the Islamic reconquest, further proof that it was a Melkite monastery.[72]

Parts of the monastery have been incorporated into the modern village; a full investigation of the site has yet to be carried out. Although no direct evidence links the monastery to a Frankish patron, its location in one the largest Frankish seigneuries of Acre

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[68] Joscelin III had usufruct of the entire inheritance, but by the thirteenth century, control of the property had reverted to all the heirs. Rafael Frankel, "Topographical Notes on the Territory of Acre in the Crusader Period," *Israel Exploration Journal 38* (1988), pp. 249-272; Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Die Seigneurie de Joscelin und der Deutsche Orden," in *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, eds. Josef Fleckenstein and Manfred Hellmann, *Vorträge und Forschungen*, Bd. XXVI, (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1980), pp. 171-216.

[69] Ernest Strehlke (ed.), *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici*, (Berlin, Weidmann, 1869; reprinted Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975), #12, p. 12. The name "St. George" is a Latin addition to the older name of al-Ba'ina. This style of nomenclature—adding a saint's name to a village—was common in Frankish Palestine. For example, the village of 'Abud in Latin documents is named Casale Sancti Mariae after the local church dedicated the Virgin. Another example is the Castrum Sancti Helie, named for a Byzantine church dedicated to Elijah. Ellenblum, *Frankish Settlement*, p. 130.

[70] "Dou Safet à Saint George si a .v. liues; si est une eglyse de moines grés. De Saint George à Acre a .iiij. liues." "Les Sains Pelerinages," in Henri Michelant and Gaston Raynaud (eds)., *Itinéraires a Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte*, (Geneva: Imprimerie Jules-Guillaume Fick, 1882), p. 104. Another thirteen century text, however, says that they are "black monks," suggesting that they were Benedictines. Certain architectural characteristics indicate that it was designed to serve a Melkite community, particularly the existence of single cells in which the monks would live, rather than a communal living area such as the Benedictines favored. Denys Pringle has pointed out that while this eremitic arrangement might indicate the house belonged to the Carthusians, there is no evidence they ever had a house in the Holy Land. Another option would be the semi-eremitic Carmelites, but they were not established as an order until the thirteenth century.

[71] Pringle, *Churches*, s.v. "al-Ba'ina, Dair al-Asad," vol. I, pp. 80-93.

[72] Ellenblum, *Frankish Settlement*, p. 169.

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suggest that, given the size of the monastery, it would not have been built without the support of the village's lord.

Architecture and Liturgy

Local Christian bishops, priests and monks flourished under the crusaders in the twelfth century, often enjoying the support of the royal family or other aristocratic Franks. However, contact among elites does not automatically indicate that the laity of different Christian communities had as many ties. The literary sources are little help in attempting to recover the experience of local and Latin lay relationships. If, however, we turn to the physical remains of churches and monasteries, we find considerably more evidence. In Jerusalem, the multiplicity of liturgies being performed—even within the Holy Sepulcher itself—allowed for a jostling sense of the diversity of the Christian tradition. (**Fig. 3**) Yet this diversity of language and liturgy was a crusader innovation. Under the Muslims, the Melkites had authority over the Holy Sepulcher, and did not admit Jacobites or Armenians. With the arrival of the crusaders, the liturgy was initially performed in both Greek and Latin. Sometime in the twelfth century, the Latins admitted other Christians. The pilgrim Theoderic, who visited the Holy Sepulcher sometime between 1169 and 1174, noted

> these are the traditions or sects which celebrate their office in the church in Jerusalem; the Latins, the Syrians [Melkites], the Armenians, the Greeks, the Jacobins and the Nubians. All have differences in their rule of life and also in their divine office. The Jacobins during their feasts use trumpets, according to the practice of the Hebrews.[73]

[73] "Hee sunt professiones sive secte, que in ecclesia Iherosolimitana divina peragunt officia, scilicet Latini, Suriani, Armenii, Greci, Iacobini, Nubiani. Hii omnes tam in conversatione quam in divinis officiis suas quisque habent differentias. Iacobini in suis festis Hebreorum more tubis utuntur." Theodericus, *Libellus de Locis Sanctis*,ed. Walther Bulst, (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlung, 1976), p. 16, translated in Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1187*, p. 282.

Theoderic later informed his reader that the Armenians had a chapel directly north of the Rotunda, where today the Latin sacristy is,[74] as well as another in the southern eleventh-century Byzantine wing of the Holy Sepulcher.[75]

The size and strange layout of the Holy Sepulcher, however, allowed the worshipper to ignore the processions and prayers of others and attend only to those of his own faith. But what about smaller towns and rural communities? Some evidence, assembled from a variety of sources, suggests that Latins and indigenous Christians did attend the same small churches, even attending the same services. A charter from 1178 records an agreement between Gerald, the bishop of Tiberias, and John, the abbot of St. Mary of Jehoshaphat. The issue at hand was the church of St. George near Tiberias, which had been granted to the abbey in 1109.[76] After the establishment of the independent bishopric of Tiberias around 1144,[77] the new bishop soon came to resent the church that was outside of his jurisdiction. The charter of 1178 was designed to resolve this tension. The document stipulated that St. George would not serve any of the bishop's parishioners, or anybody whom the bishop had excommunicated. Furthermore, neither Latins nor Syrians could be baptized, married or purified at the church, as these were privileges reserved for churches under the authority of the local bishop. The church was, however, allowed to bury brothers and servants of the abbey, as well as Syrians.[78]

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[74] Theoderic, *Libellus*, p. 17, tr. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1187*, p. 283.

[75] Theoderic, *Libellus*, p. 21, tr. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1187*, p. 287.

[76] Charles Kohler, "Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, (Paris: 1900; reprint, Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1964), vol. VII, pp. 113-5.

[77] Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 72; Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Bd. 26, (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1977), p. 81.

[78] Henri-François Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*, (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1880), #LV, pp. 87-8.

Denys Pringle has suggested that the church excavated in 1991 outside the walls of Tiberias, on Mount Berenice, can be identified with the St. George of the charter.[79] (**Fig. 4**) The church is located perhaps a kilometer south of the crusader city; it therefore was convenient for those who were living outside of the walls of the city to attend for their religious needs. The insistence of the charter that neither Latins nor Syrians should be baptized or married there suggests that members of both communities were. The layout of the church raises further questions. The church was built by Justinian, and in the sixth century was within the town walls of Tiberias. By the twelfth century, Tiberias had contracted, leaving the church in the suburbs. Although the church was under the authority of the Latin abbey of Notre-Dame of Jehosaphat, the church continued to have a layout that facilitated the performance of the Melkite mass. Most prominently, the chancel was blocked off from the rest of the church by a high wall, pierced only by a doorway. This arrangement allowed for the liturgical practices of the local community, where the clergy would process, emerging from a door on the north side of the chancel, and enter the sanctuary through a door aligned with the nave. Despite the disputes and negotiations of the Latin hierarchy over the building, it would appear that the church and its congregation continued to be served by the local Melkite priests and to worship with the same liturgy as before the arrival of the crusaders. Perhaps the only thing that had changed was that now the local community included Franks as well.

Ronnie Ellenblum has pointed out that in many rural areas local Christians and Latins used the same church. In at-Taiyiba, the crusader village of Castrum Sancti Helie, Franks built a fortified settlement on the hill above the local village, and partially rebuilt the older Byzantine church there. (**Fig. 5**) This was the only church either in the local village or

[79] Pringle, *Crusader Churches*, vol. II, 'Church of St. George,' no. 257, pp. 356-7.

in the Frankish *castrum,* and as Ellenblum has argued, was likely used by both locals and Latins.[80] But the entire church was not restored, for it was apparently too large for their twelfth-century needs. Instead, they constructed a church within the older Byzantine church, using two or possibly three of the apses. The southern apse preserves slots for a chancel screen and posts, the possible remains of which were found on the site.[81] Such a setup suggests that the Latin liturgy was performed in one apse, while the Melkite liturgy was said in the next, both performed side-by-side. Other villages, such as 'Abud, Tekoa and Jifna, show similar signs of mixed use by both Franks and locals.

Could both the Latin and Melkite rites have been practiced within the same church plan? It is not easy to decipher the correlation between liturgy and architecture in this setting. Robert Taft has noted that the history of the liturgy of Jerusalem has yet to written,[82] so we are not even certain as to the demands of the liturgy the Melkites would have been performing in the twelfth century. What evidence we do have suggests that the Jerusalem liturgy had been influenced by Constantinopolitan liturgy, but was still distinct. At best then, we can hypothesize that the architectural requirements of the local Palestinian liturgy may have been similar to that of Constantinople. With these guidelines, we find that many of the churches built or rebuilt under the crusaders could accommodate both Latin and Melkite liturgies. Churches such as the shrine of John the Baptist in Ain Karem, are in their essential fabric Byzantine churches. The crusaders restored them, but did not fundamentally alter their layout. Strikingly, the crusaders also retained or rebuilt the domes on many churches. The dome was not a feature of northern French architecture, yet even on the Holy Sepulcher they added another dome to the already extant Anastasis rotunda.

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[80] Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement,* pp. 125-128. Ellenblum points out that the same situation occurred at Mi'ilya as well.

[81] Pringle, *Churches,* vol. II, s.v. "at-Taiyiba," pp. 340-344.

(**Fig. 3**) The deliberate reconstruction of older Byzantine styles suggests both that the Franks worked with local master masons, and that they consulted local populations about the original appearance of the churches.

Another church which may have had its dome rebuilt by the crusader was the shrine church at Bethany, where Lazarus was raised from the dead. (**Fig. 6**) Like so many other churches in the Holy Land, it was originally built in the early Byzantine era. The church seemingly survived destruction by the Persians in the seventh century, but at least parts of the church were damaged by the time the crusaders gained control. Unfortunately, this church did not survive to the twentieth century, and what little of it that now remains is buried beneath the new Franciscan church, built in the 1950's. Our evidence for it comes from the drawings and photographs done by Sylvester Saller, but little stratigraphy seems to have been recorded, so analysis of the remains has been relatively general in nature. It is clear, however, that the crusaders rebuilt the roof of the church, replacing the wood beams with stone vaults. The crusaders also restored the dome over the church, which pilgrims in the fourteenth century recorded seeing in ruins.[83] In restoring the church, the crusaders made no apparent changes to the structure or layout of the building, other than what was necessary to support the new stone vaulting. As the layout remained that of the early Byzantine church, with a central apse and two pastiphoria on each side in a centrally-planned cross-in-square church, the shrine of SS. Mary and Martha remained ideal for Melkite liturgy throughout the twelfth century. The church belonged to the Abbey of St. Lazarus, built for Melisende's sister, Ivetta, born of a Melkite mother; therefore, it is quite possible that Melkite priests continued to serve at the sanctuary, with or without Latin

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[82] Robert Taft, *The Byzantine Rite*, (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992), p. 64, n. 31.

[83] Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *Libro d'Oltramare*, (Jerusalem: Tipografia dei PP. Francescani, 1945), p. 81.

priests. A separate Latin church was built for the use of the nuns. Nor can we dismiss the rebuilding of Byzantine churches as simply the easiest way to maintain the churches of the Holy Land, thus considering it a decision without ideological content. At some shrines, such as Nazareth, the Franks pulled down the pre-existing church and built a new one. At Mount Tabor, the crusader apparently destroyed a functioning church to replace it with one more to their liking.

Pilgrimage

Evidence from western pilgrim texts can also indirectly point to the existence of mixed Latin-local communities in Palestine. The western pilgrim accounts of the pre-crusade era had generally the same narrative interests. Focusing almost exclusively on biblical events, they directed their readers to visit the same holy places, often based on the accounts of Bede and Jerome. In the crusader period, however, we see a new pattern emerging. Western pilgrim account show an increased interest in non-biblical sacred events in the Holy Land, such as the lives of late antique saints. The source of this interest in local saints is the increased contact between resident Franks and local Christians. The monastery of Mar Sabas, for example, drew greater attention from western pilgrims in the twelfth century, resulting in greater knowledge of the life and miracles of St. Sabas among pilgrims. Pre-crusade western pilgrims did sometimes visit the monastery, but knew little of its history. Willibald, nephew of St. Boniface and one of the first English pilgrims to the Holy Land, visited Sabas' tomb in the mid-eighth century,[84] but recorded little about the saint. After the crusader conquest, pilgrim interest in the saint grew. Saewulf, another English pilgrim who visited the Holy Land in 1102-3, showed more interest in the life of the saint, informing his

audience that Sabas was one of the seventy-two disciples of Jesus.[85] Saewulf probably got his information from older pilgrimage texts, or from gossip from other pilgrims on the road. An anonymous Latin text from the mid-twelfth century, however, displays a far more accurate understanding of the life of Sabas. This pilgrim had learned of the miracles that Sabas had performed in Jericho, for example, when

> it was announced to the blessed Sabas that there was no wine, nor indeed, any liquor except a little colocynth broth for cooking the vegetables for their breakfast. This was brought before the blessed Sabas and was consecrated by him, when it was changed into such abundance of wine that it sufficed for all in the hospital for three continuous days.[86]

This narrative closely followed the story as it is told in Cyril of Scythopolis' sixth-century *vita* of Sabas, mentioning even the same names of the men who sat with Sabas that evening.[87]

The Latin pilgrims who recorded these stories about Sabas must have heard these stories orally, either from the monks of Mar Saba themselves, or from a resident Frank who was familiar with the cult of Saint Sabas.[88] Monasteries such as Mar Saba were therefore

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[84] "The Hodoeporicon of Saint Willibald," tr. Rev. Canon Brownlow, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, vol. III, (London: 1895; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1971), p. 23.

[85] Saewulf did not visit the monastery, but knew of the priory of St. Sabas within the walls of Jerusalem, which belonged to the monastery. "The Pilgrimage of Saewulf to Jerusalem and the Holy Land," *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, tr. the Right Reverend Lord of Clifton, (London, 1895; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1971), p. 45, 21.

[86] "Quibus cocenantibus, pariterque cum eis viris sanctisimissis Paulo et Theodoro, nuntiatum est beato Sabe vinum non haberi, nec quicquam liquoris, preter modicum quid de succo colokintide, ad condiendum legumen eorum prandio illo. Quod ante beatum Sabam allatum et ab eo santicifcatum in tantam vini mutatur copiam quod per tres continuos dies cunctis in hospitali suficientur . . ." Charles Jean Melchior, marquis de Vogüé, *Les Églises de la Terre Sainte*, (Paris: Librairie de Victor Didron, 1860; reprinted Toronto: les presses de l'universite de Toronto, 1973), appendix, "De situ urbis Jerusalem," pp. 429. Although not actually by Fetellus, the English translation is under that name. Fetellus, "Description of the Holy Land," *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, tr. Rev. James Rose Macpherson, (London, 1896; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1971), vol. 5, p. 45. See P. C. Boeren, *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte: Histoire et edition du texte*, (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1980).

[87] *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, ed. Eduard Schwartz, (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, 1939), pp. 136-7; translated in Cyril of Scythopolis, *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, tr. R. M. Price, (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1991), pp. 146-7.

[88] It is also possible that the author consulted a translation of Cyril in Palestine or in Europe. I have been able to find two unpublished Latin manuscripts including versions of the *Vita Sabae* that date from before the thirteenth century. At this point, however, I do not know if they contain the same miracles as recorded in the pilgrimage account. One account is an eleventh-century manuscript in a Beneventuan

places where Latin pilgrims and local Franks would mingle and meet Melkite monks as well as Melkite pilgrims. These meeting were not silent, with each party performing his devotion separately, but were personal, and involved the telling of stories, worshipping during the same religious ceremonies, and creating a temporary community. Melkite and Latin pilgrimages shared many of the same sites, so that in the six months or the year that a pilgrim might spend in the Holy Land, the faces of fellow pilgrims, whether Latin or Melkite, became familiar, as did the local Christian priests and monks who controlled some shrines and welcomed the pilgrims.

The legend of St. Mary the Egyptian also crossed over from eastern traditions to western pilgrims. Although St. Mary was well-known in Europe before the crusades,[89] her story did not become attached to physical places in Palestine until the crusader period. Mary the Egyptian, like a surprising number of Late Antique holy women, was first a prostitute. According to her *vita*, she came to Jerusalem in order to conduct her accustomed business among the pilgrims. When she attempted to enter the Holy Sepulcher, an invisible force prevented her. She quickly understood that it was her sinful life that thus precluded her from seeing the tomb of the Savior; overcome by repentance, she prayed to an icon of the Virgin in the courtyard of the church.[90] This story has a well-established place within eastern pilgrimage traditions. Epiphanios Hagiopolites, a Byzantine monk writing in the eighth or

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hand in the manuscript library in Naples, Albert Poncelet, "Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecarum Neapolitanarum," *Analecta Bollandiana* 30 (1911), p. 158. The second manuscript is twelfth-century, in the Vatican Library. Albert Poncelet, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, vol. 11, *Subsidia Hagiographica*, (Brussels: Socios Bollandianos, 1910), p. 441.

[89] As an example, see Erich Poppe and Bianca Ross (eds.) *The Legend of Mary of Egypt in Medieval Insular Hagiography*, (Portland: Four Courts Press, 1996.)

[90] Maria Kouli (tr.), "Life of St. Mary of Egypt," in *Holy Women of Byzantium*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot, (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection), pp. 65-93.

ninth centuries, mentioned the icon.[91] In contrast, western pilgrims did not include it in their accounts. The Piacenza pilgrim, visiting the Holy Land in the late sixth century, mentioned an icon of the Virgin Mary at the Holy Sepulcher, but did not link it to the story of Mary the Egyptian.[92] In the crusader period, her story suddenly surfaced. Saewulf, who arrived in Palestine in 1102, believed that this image, by which Mary was converted to the monastic life, remained at the door of the Holy Sepulchre.[93] Two anonymous twelfth-century pilgrim accounts mentioned the same image in connection with the saint, and also pointed out that the icon was very close to a local Christian chapel (variously identified as Jacobite, Syrian or Greek).[94]

Why then should western pilgrims show such a sudden interest in St. Mary the Egyptian? It is not that any new information has been provided, as in the case of St. Sabas. Rather, someone, perhaps the Syrian priests in the chapel of the Holy Cross near the icon of Mary, or perhaps resident Franks who have become familiar with the local traditions of the image, told western pilgrims about the icon and its connection to St. Mary the Egyptian. But the story was not told just once, but again and again, so that it became a familiar part of the sacred history of the Holy Sepulcher. Although eastern Christians had honored this image for centuries, it is not until the crusader period that Latins stopped to listen to their story.

Conclusion

Steven Runciman claimed that "when they [the crusaders] set themselves up in the East they treated their Christian subjects no better than the Caliph had done before them.

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[91] Epiphanius the Monk, "The Holy City and the Holy Places," in John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgims before the Crusades*, (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1977), p. 117.

[92] P. Geyer, "Antonini Placentini Itinerarium," *Itineraria et Alia Geographica*, vol. 175, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, (Turnholti: Brepols, 1965), p. 139; translated in John Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, p. 83.

[93] Saewulf, "The Pilgrimage of Saewulf," p. 13, 39.

Indeed, they were sterner, for they interfered in the religious practices of the local churches."[95] Runciman's ire towards the crusaders derived from his sense that they were at least partly to blame for the decline of eastern Christianity. Perhaps in a larger sense this is true, but for the twelfth century what we find is that the crusaders revitalized local Christian communities, re-establishing local bishoprics and monasteries, and restoring older churches and building new ones. On a daily basis, in rural churches, pilgrimage shrines, on building sites and in scriptoria, local Christians, resident Franks and pilgrims, met, rubbed shoulders, swapped stories, and shared in the common Christian heritage of the Holy Land and Syria. Ironically, only after the negotiations to unify the churches in the late twelfth century did local Christians and Franks begin to place emphasis on the many things that divided them.

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[94] "Anonymous Pilgrim II," *PPTS*, vol. 6, p. 12; "Anonymous Pilgrim V," *PPTS*, vol. 6, p. 23.

[95] Steven Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), vol. III, p. 474.

Chapter 5

Status of Local Christians in the Latin East

In 1175, Baldwin, lord of Rames [Ramla], donated a local Christian peasant to the Hospitallers. He was to remain "with all things of his and of his heirs of either sex, forever in the authority of, and under the power of, the Hospital alone."[1] Johannes Syrianus, as the charter calls him, was distinguished by a blemish in one eye, and evidently once was in charge of the cisterns of Caffer [Kafr ed-Dik], a small village tucked away in the olive groves southwest of Nablus. The ancient pools John might have cared for can still be found on the outskirts of the village today.

This brief notice is perhaps the fullest description of a Palestinian peasant in the documents of the Latin East. Crusader historians over the last hundred years have given us a clear and surprisingly detailed model of the society John the Syrian lived in, and the conditions under which he worked. According to scholars such as Jon athan Riley-Smith, Joshua Prawer and Claude Cahen, John, and all indigenous peasants whether Christian or Muslim, were serfs, a legal and social status the crusaders brought with them from Europe. They lived in small villages, often of a dozen families or less, and gave half of the produce of their lands to their Frankish overlords. Overseeing the lord's interests was a village headman, often called a *ra'is,* who, though a serf like the other villagers, enjoyed privileges

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[1] "Notum sit omnibus . . quod ego Balduinus, Dei gratia Ramensis dominus, anime mee delictorum querens remedium, dono et concedo Deo et pauperibus beati Johannis Jerosolimitani Hospitalis, et Josberto . . . Johannem Syrianum, quondam Cafferi cysternarium, qui etiam maculam habet in oculo, cum omnibus suis utriusque sexus heredibus, tam futuris quam presentibus, ut in dominio et sub potestate solius Hospitalis maneant in perpetuum." J. Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem,* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), vol.I, #470, pp. 322-3.

commensurate with his authority. According to current interpretation, John the Syrian would have rarely seen his lord, or any other Franks, for they dwelt in the great cities of the kingdom, like Jerusalem, Acre and Tyre. There they lived among a mixed population of local Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Though free from the servile status of their rural cousins, the indigenous city-dwellers were nonetheless at a disadvantage compared to their Frankish neighbors. All non-Latins had to pay the *capitatio*, a sign of their second-class status, just as all non-Muslims once paid the *jizya* when Palestine was ruled by the caliphs. According to this view, the Franks prevented the indigenous population, irrespective of their social status, from joining the ruling elite, which was based on knighthood and Latin Christianity. Unless he converted to Latin Christianity, a local Christian could not give testimony in the High Court of the Kingdom, nor could he be one of the king's men, or even a knight in another lord's service. Although the crusaders had ostensibly come to free eastern Christians from the yoke of Muslim tyranny, they simply substituted a Muslim elite with a Frankish one, leaving local Christians in the same, or even worse, subjected position.[2]

Several problem undermine this model. The last four chapters of this study have shown that, despite conflicts and discrepancies of power, daily interactions between Franks and local Christians formed an essential part of communal life in the Latin East. Ronnie

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[2] A vast literature exists studying these issues; I give here only the most recent and general overviews of the subject. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277*, (Hamden: Archon Books, 1973); Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); Claude Cahen, *Orient et Occident au temps des Croisades*, (Paris: Éditions Aubier Montaigne, 1983); Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Probleme des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem*, (Variorum Reprints, 1983), article VI, reprint, *History* 63 (1978), pp. 175-192; Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The survival in Latin Palestine of Muslim administration," *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P. M. Holt, (Warminster: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1977; Jean Richard, "Agricultural Conditions in the Crusader States," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, vol. V., *The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, pp. 251-266; Joshua Prawer, "Social Classes in the Crusader States: the "Minorities," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, vol. V., *The Impact of the Crusades on the Near East*, ed. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, pp. 59-115; Jean Richard, "La seigneurie franque en Syrie et à

Ellenblum has shown that such relationships occurred as much in rural areas as in the cit ies.[3] This chapter will argue that the twelfth-century reality of Latin Palestine was considerably different from the well-researched and plausible model presented above. By relying on twelfth-century documents and excluding those which reflect the very different thirteenth-century world, we find that the conditions of Palestinian peasants differed in several ways from those of European serfdom, and that local Christians and Franks lived under the same laws and under the jurisdiction of the same courts. The segregationist model described above is built on two inaccurate premises. The first assumption is the notion of strict separation between Latins and the various eastern Christians. As we have seen in chapter 4, Franks and local Christians received sacraments from each other's priests, and worshipped at each other's churches. The theological differences between them were rarely acknowledged; the divisions of liturgy and language often proved temporary, overcome through familiarity. Little evidence from the twelfth century supports the historiographical notion that Franks expected local Christians to go through some process of conversion before receiving sacraments from a Latin priest, or vice versa. Indeed, considerable evidence supports the opposite. The Frankish laity of Jerusalem recognized the fact that local Christians employed different liturgies and had distinct traditions of priesthood, but did not consider these incongruities a sign of fundamental difference anymore than a Castilian would consider that the Mozarabic tradition excluded that community from communion with the Catholic faithful.

The second notion is that one had to be a Latin Christian to participate in governing the kingdom, and is derived from John of Ibelin, a Latin aristocrat who wrote an extensive

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Chypre: modèle oriental ou modèle occidental?" in *Seigneurs et Seigneuries au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Éditions du C.T.H.S., 1993), pp. 155-166.

commentary on the laws of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the 1260's. According to John, "these are those who are not able to give testimony in the High Court, and who cannot bring a motion before the court: perjurers, the insane, traitors, bastards, adulterers, those whose champion has been defeated in the field [of judgement], those who have served the Sarracens and fight against Christians, or Greeks or people of such birth who are not obedient to Rome . . ."[4] But John did not have access to the original laws of Jerusalem himself, and his work was often theoretical in character. His treatise was the longest and most detailed among all those of the Latin jurists, and he based it on "what I have heard, learnt and received from the wisest men of my time. I have heard these men speak of the *assises* and usages of the kingdom and the pleading in the court. Because I have seen them in action, I have embarked on writing."[5] Sadly for the historian of the twelfth century, those scattered seeds of memory locked in the minds of the "wisest men" are indistinguishable from the elaborations of John and other jurists. Relatively few portions of his work can accurately be traced to the twelfth century, and those that can have nothing to say about the status of the indigenous population.[6] This brief thirteenth-century theoretical assertion has been applied to the twelfth without context or explanation. The original laws of the kingdom, according to another jurist, were kept in a locked box in the Church of the Holy

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[3] Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[4] "Ce sont ciaus qui ne pevent porter garantie en la Haute Court, et que n'ont vois ni respons en court: esparjures, feimentis, traitors, bastars, avoutres, ciaus de qui le champion a esté vencu en champ, ciaus qui ont esté reneés ou qui ont servi Sarrazins et jor contre Crestiens; ou Grex ou genz de tel nassion qui ne sont obeissans à Rome . . ." Jean d'Ibelin, "Assises de la Haute Cour," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Lois*, (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841), Vol. I, p. 114.

[5] "selonc ce que je ai oy et apris et retenu de ciaus qui ont esté les plus sages homes de mon tens, à qui ge ai oy parler des assises et des usages dou dit roiaume et des plais de la dite court; et par ce que je lor ai veu faire et user, l'ai ge enpris à faire." Jean d'Ibelin, "Assises de Jerusalem," Vol. I, ch. V, p. 27; translation in Peter W. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), p. 100.

[6] Jonathan Riley-Smith, for example, dates the *établissement* concerning the confiscation of fiefs to the reign of Baldwin II. "Further Thoughts in Baldwin II's *établissement* on the Confiscation of Fiefs," *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter Edbury, (Cardiff: University College Cardiff Press, 1985), pp. 176-179.

Sepulchre, and as a consequence, were called *les lettres dou Sepulchre.* They were lost when Saladin conquered Jerusalem in 1187, although Peter Edbury has recently argued that they never existed, at least in the form described.[7] Joshua Prawer commented that "in addition to presenting the dangers of anachronisms, because they project thirteenth-century realities (even if they are faithfully reproduced), into the twelfth century, the use of legal treatises as the principal sources for the constitutional history of the Latin Kingdom creates the illusion of a fossilized constitution."[8] Yet the richness of these sources makes them irresistible to the historian, particularly when the twelfth-century material is so tauntingly vague and incomplete. While Joshua Prawer and others have shown persuasively how little these texts represent the twelfth-century realities of Frankish burgesses and knights,[9] historians have yet to question their validity when speaking of the local Christian population.

Although John of Ibelin, writing in the 1260's, explicitly labeled Palestinian peasants "serfs," the earliest of the law texts do not. The first to survive is the *Livre au roi,* recently re-edited by Myriam Greilsammer, and dated to between 1197 and 1205.[10] The *Livre* was written at the behest of Aimery of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, and king of Jerusalem by right of his marriage to the much-widowed Queen Isabella. Syrians only appear twice in the text, and *villanus* only once, and none of the references indicate that they were serfs. Thus both charter and juridical evidence point to the language of serfdom being developed largely in the thirteenth century, not the twelfth.

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[7] Philippe de Navarre, "Livre de Phillipe de Navarre" in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Lois,* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale 1841), vol. I, ch. XLVII, pp. 521-3. Peter Edbury has recently cast doubt on the existence of the *letres.* "Law and Custom in the Latin East: *Les Letres dou Sepulcre,*" *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean,* ed. Benjamin Arbel, (Portland: Frank Cass, 1996), pp. 71-9.

[8] Prawer, *Crusader Institutions,* p. 9.

[9] Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility;* Peter W. Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem,* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997); Prawer, *Crusader Institutions.*

[10] Myriam Greilsammer (ed.), *Le Livre au roi,* (Paris: L'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1995).

But the legal texts are not the only thirteenth-century documents historians have employed to elucidate the history of the twelfth century. Historians have presumed, not unreasonably, that the conditions described in thirteenth-century charters were also applicable to the twelfth century, creating a static vision of rural Palestine. Given the paucity of twelfth-century material, why should the historian not look to the thirteenth century to find evidence of long-term issues such as peasant status, taxes, and legal systems? Does anything so divide the twelfth from the thirteenth century as to render these documents useless to the historian of the twelfth century? Historians have long fetishized the Battle of Hattin in July, 1187, when the armies of Syria and Egypt, united under Saladin, annihilated the assembled knights of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The movements of the two armies have been plotted step-by-step, and historians have sought to pin the blame for the disaster on the counsels of one leader or another.[11] The Battle of Hattin was indeed a turning point, and with the Turkish victory, the Franks lost their cities, lands, and churches, but more importantly their defeat destroyed the fabric of their society. The conquests of Saladin dealt the Kingdom of Jerusalem a near-fatal blow, leaving its few surviving leaders scattered. Much of its aristocracy fled to newly-conquered Cyprus; and many also intermarried with ambitious new arrivals to the Latin East, such as the Lusignans, the Montbéliards, the Briennes and the Montforts.[12] It was decades before a substantial part of Palestine returned to crusader control, and many of the leading families of the Kingdom survived only through offices and properties held in Cyprus—an interlude that exposed them to a quite different social and political *milieu*.

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[11] For a step by step reconstruction, see Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Battle of Hattīn Revisited," in *The Horns of Hattīn*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1987), pp. 190-207.

[12] See Bernard Hamilton, "King Consorts of Jerusalem and their Entourages," in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer, (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1997), pp. 13-24.

A series of western princes who came east and married the royal heiresses ruled what remained of the kingdom—Guy of Lusignan (1186-1190), Conrad of Montferrat (1190-92), Henry of Champagne (1192-1197), Aimery of Lusignan (1197-1205), John of Brienne (1210-1225)—until the crown fell to the absentee Hohenstaufen. Most of these men had little previous experience in the Latin East before assuming control, and had closer ties with other recent émigrés than with the remnants of the local aristocracy.[13] The period from 1187 through to 1229 was a period of flux for the Latin East, when lands, titles, customs and even families were lost and re-established, often in guises quite different than their twelfth-century selves.

Indeed, many have suggested that the Kingdom of Jerusalem did end in 1187, and a new Kingdom of Acre was born through the Third Crusade and subsequent military ventures and negotiations.[14] As a result of conquest and re-conquest, and changes in aristocracy and population, we cannot know that the taxes and services owed by a particular village in 1229 were the same as they were in 1129. In the intervening time, the village had likely been under Muslim control for five, ten, perhaps as many as forty years. Even if the same family who owned it in the twelfth century regained control of the village in the thirteenth century, the family's idea of itself and its relation to local Palestinians and Syrians would have been influenced by the cultural and political changes in Europe. The Mediterranean in the thirteenth century grew to be an internationalized world for the aristocracies of western Europe, where one might marry a bride in Spain, have territory in Cyprus, serve under the Latin Emperors of Constantinople and be a royal officer in Sicily. Through time spent in Cyprus and Latin Constantinople, and through direct contact with the

[13] The possible exceptions are Aimery of Lusignan, who had been in the Latin East since the 1170's, and John of Ibelin, who was regent in the period 1205-1210 and was born in Palestine.

knights of the Third Crusade, a Frankish lord might establish different customs in the village in 1229 than had existed in the twelfth century.

One can only imagine the slow process whereby a knight attempted to reassemble his patrimonial lands, or more likely, his wife's. He had to re-establish authority over the villages, rebuild granaries, mills and other physical tools that allowed him to measure, collect and tax the produce of the land. In many places, peasant families may have left, and new families settled in their place. What rights did the lord have over this new population? The thirteenth-century recapture of Palestine was just as much a conquest as that of the First Crusade, with the attendant opportunity to institute new taxes, customs and exactions from a populace worn down by war. The thirteenth-century charters, then, reflect the post-conquest realities of Latin Palestine, and we cannot assume that they accurately reflect the twelfth century.

Changes in the heartland of Europe also helped transform the "new" Latin kingdom of the thirteenth century. The papacy, whose influence and power had grown far beyond what Urban II had wielded when he initiated the First Crusade, insisted on greater conformity and obedience to Rome. The centralizing ideals of the papacy, culminating in the administration of Innocent III, were brought to the Latin East by aristocrats such as John of Brienne and by churchmen such as Jacques de Vitry, appointed bishop of Acre in 1216. It is telling that the first analytical categorization of local Christian churches, detailing their differences from the Catholic Church, came from the pen of Jacques. Greater consciousness of the importance of these differences can be seen in the works of the thirteenth-century jurists, who repeatedly use the phrase "men not of the rule of Rome" to categorize all non-Catholics, a phrase never seen in twelfth-century documents.

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[14] Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. III, *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later*

The Peasantry

The vast majority of the indigenous population of Palestine were peasants, especially following the sieges and massacres that devastated the cities during the First Crusade. Although little work has been done on conversion to Islam in Palestine and Syria, the limited evidence we have suggests that a significant proportion of the population remained Christian, and in some areas, such as the land between Jerusalem and Nablus, Christians may well have been in the majority.[15] According to Joshua Prawer and others, John the Syrian and all other native peasants were serfs. The evidence for serfdom in the Latin East principally derives from two sources: the cartularies of the Hospitallers and a few other ecclesiastical institutions, and the legal texts of John of Ibelin. The charter evidence is far more reliable than the work of the jurists. Created to describe a contemporary transaction, written with standard formulas, the charter is not subject to the failings of so many other historical sources. But the charter itself is a document of the Frankish elite, and the formulas and issues it contains linked it to the vast corpus of charter collections that survive in western Europe. The charters in both places address similar concerns—the transfer of rights and property, largely within an agricultural setting. It is only natural, therefore, that the Franks would continue to use the same phrases and language to describe their new possessions in the East as they once described their properties in Europe. The use of the same specialized language did not mean the same conditions prevailed in both places.

Crusades, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954).

[15] Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, pp. 20-2. In comparison, recent work has suggested that the conversion of substantial numbers of Copts did not occur until the Fatimid period. See John Iskander, "Islamization in Medieval Egypt: The Copto-Arabic 'Apocalypse of Samuel' as a Source for the Social and Religious History of Medieval Copts," *Medieval Encounters* 4 (1998), pp. 219-227.

Joshua Prawer has remarked that "for the peasant the Crusader had the ready-made formula of serfdom."[16] But ready-made formulas do not fit every circumstance. Although the Franks did indeed employ the language of serfdom to describe the Palestinian peasant, the application of the formula to a non-European agricultural regime is another matter entirely.[17] Even within Europe, serfdom was an idiosyncratic institution, with services and duties varying in accordance with the individual geography, history and climate of each place.[18] Yet European serfdom, for all its variety, had common roots in the widespread slavery of the early medieval period, and in shared cultural development since. "Serfdom" has a defined meaning, developed within an European context, which, when used to describe conditions in the Latin East, is misleading. Just as the utility of the term "feudalism" has been degraded by its use to describe economic and political systems from Japan to England to Tonga, so too "serfdom" is facing a similar fate. The rural regime of the Latin East must be described and discussed within its own development, and not linked needlessly to Europe. A close examination of the status of Palestinian peasants shows that in fact they had relatively little in common with European serfs.

Palestinian Peasants under Islamic Rule

While John the Syrian probably was not old enough to recall the days when Palestine was under Islamic rule, his grandfather likely lived under the rule of the Egyptian Shi'ite caliphs, the Fatimids. What was his status under Islamic administration and how did

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[16] Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 202.

[17] Interesting in this regard is the discussion over Jewish "serfdom" in the thirteenth century. Although few would argue that Jews had the same status as Christian agricultural laborers, the language of serfdom was employed as an analogy. See J. A. Watt, "The Jews, The Law and the Church: the Concept of Jewish Serfdom in Thirteenth-Century England," in *The Church and Sovereignty*, ed. Diana Wood, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), pp. 153-172.

[18] For a brief discussion of the necessity for greater precision in the use of the terms "serf" and "serfdom," see János Bak, "Serfs and Serfdom: Words and Things," *Review* 4 (1980), pp. 3-18.

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conditions change under the crusaders? Given the lack of archival sources, the legal and social position of rural communities in pre-crusader Palestine is difficult to uncover. It is clear, however, that Islamic law did not have a category that was in any sense similar to the quasi-free status of the European serf. Muslim society of the eleventh century did recognize various states of dependency, but these were constituted by personal ties; they never established a juridical status.[19] Many historians have pointed to the institution of *iktâ* as an Islamic form of landholding that reduced the peasantry to serfdom, thus allowing the easy introduction of crusader concepts in the twelfth century.[20] Although the *iktâ* varied from place to place and evolved throughout the medieval period, in essence it was the bestowal of administrative authority over large tracts of territory which included the right to collect land taxes.[21] In other words, the grant did not convey ownership over the land or any direct administrative or judicial rights over its inhabitants.

The evidence for where the *iktâ* was instituted is vague;[22] we cannot be certain that it was widespread in Palestine. The struggles over Palestine, first between the Fatimids and local tribal dynasties, then later with the Turcoman invasions of the eleventh century, would suggest that the *iktâ,* usually an absentee form of tax farming, would not have been an effective institution. The disruptions of invasion and the lack of an established local administration would have made it difficult for military officers to collect taxes with the regularity necessary to ensure a regular income. Its use was probably far more prevalent in the heavily-cultivated Nile valley and in Iraq. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, many

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[19] Claude Cahen, "La communauté rurale dans le monde musulman médiéval," in *Les Communautés rurales,* (Paris: Dessain et Tolra, 1982), vol. III, pp. 9-27.

[20] Prawer, *Crusader Insitutions,* p. 197.

[21] Claude Cahen, "Notes sur l'histoire des croisades et de l'Orient latin II: Le regime rural syrien au temps de la domination franque," *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus,* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1974); Prawer, *Crusader Institutions,* p. 205.

Turkish warlords were able to usurp ownership of public and private lands using their authority as holders of *iktâs*, and through a combination of force and financial burdens, tie the peasantry to their land.[23] Although this inevitably altered the peasant's social status and access to justice, he legally remained a free man. The *iktâ* in this form, however, was largely an innovation originating in the domain of the twelfth-century Zangid emirs of Mosul, and chronologically could not be an Islamic precursor to crusader serfdom.

Peasants in the Twelfth-Century Kingdom of Jerusalem

On September 28, 1110, King Baldwin I confirmed a number of charitable donations that had been made to the Hospitallers.

> The villeins and lands, which Hugo and Gervase gave in Tiberias, and three villeins which the bishop of Nazareth gave, and one from William de Tenches, and another from Paganus Vacca, and another from Drogo, and another from Dominic, and Guitbert de Salinas another, and Pagan of Cayphas another with lands and houses in Cayphas and in Caphernaum, and another villein who Roman of Puy gave, and another who Baldwin gave with lands and houses in the town of Rames; all of these, just as they are written above I concede and confirm to the above-mentioned Hospital.[24]

This charter, written only eleven years after the capture of Jerusalem, already reveals a startling variety of donations. Here none of the villeins were named; some gifts referred only to villeins, and others to both land and peasants. Some refer to villeins who live in towns such as Ramla [Rames], and others who are simply designated as "alium"—another

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[22] There is some evidence that it was used in Syria, although whether Syria encompasses Palestine in this discussion is unclear. Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 46.

[23] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s. v. "iktâ."

[24] "Insuper etiam villanos et terras, quas dederunt Hugo et Gervasius in Thabaria, et tres villanos quos dedit episcopus Nazarenus, et unum Wilhelmus de Tenches, et alium Paganus Vacca, et alterum Drogo, sive alium Dominicus, et Guibertus de Salinas alium, et Paganus de Cayphas alterum cum terris ac domibus in Cayphas et Capharnaum, et alium villanum quem dedit Romanus de Podio, sive alterum quem dedit Balduinus cum teris ac domibus in civitate de Rames . . . Totum hoc, sicut superius est, laudo et confirmo supradicto Hospitali." Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #20, pp. 21-2.

one.[25] Quite different in tone and information conveyed is a charter from the cartulary of the Holy Sepulcher. In 1152, Queen Melisende relinquished all claims over the villeins of Bethsuric [Bayt Surik], "namely Suleyman the son of Maadi, Abd-al-Rahman, Selim, Hasem, Nasen, Mekedem, Seleemen, Sa'd, Ibrahim, Kannet, Nasser . . ." and so on.[26] The language of these charters is the language of ownership, of authority, and of control, in which it is easy to perceive the bonds and servile status of European serfs.

Despite this, the wording of the charters does suggest some differences. The peasants of the Latin East were never called *servus*, the term found so often in European documents; instead crusader charters use *villanus* or often simply *syrianus* if they were Christian,[27] or *sarracenus* of they were Muslim. The difference in terminology may be because the term *servus* was reserved to describe actual slaves, of whom there were a great number in

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[25] Donations of a single unnamed peasant became a common way for the aristocracy of Jerusalem to support religious institutions, and often land or even location were not mentioned. The gift of a single serf was relatively uncommon in Europe, and its appearance in Palestine may reflect local landholding traditions of dividing common village property among the villagers every year or two, called *musha'*. Due to scarcity of evidence for agricultural regimes in Palestine and Syria in the medieval period, we have no direct evidence concerning *musha'* before the Ottoman period. The custom of donating a single villein, without reference to any gift of land, suggests that in some areas, *musha'* may have been practiced. Otherwise, it is unclear who or what was donated when neither the name of the *villanus* was given, nor any property. This confusion is heightened when the charters containing the donation of a single nameless *villanus* are compared to others where the names of the donated *villani* are spelled out at great length. Of course, we have plenty of evidence for individually-owned land, but commonly-owned land and private fields may well have existed side-by-side. In this case, the donation of a single *villanus* may simply be a convenient way to give a portion of a village's produce, rather than conveying concrete authority over a single peasant. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s. v. "musha'." Crusader historians heretofore have been hesitant to give a decisive judgement—Jonathan Riley-Smith and Joshua Prawer seem equivocal, while Claude Cahen is cautiously in favor. Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 41; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 187-95; Cahen, "Notes sur l'histoire," p. 295.

[26] "Horum igitur omnium vestigiis nos per omnium inhere cupientes, ego Melisendis, divina largiente clementia Jherosolimorum regina, omnibus hominibus . . ratum certumque fieri volo quod illam calumpniam, quam ęcclesię Dominici Sepulcri ejusdemque loci canonicis quorumdam suggestione, videlicet Selmen filio Maadi, Habderahmen, Selim, Hasem, Nasen, Mekedem, Seleemen, Sade, Brahin, Kannet, Nasser, Ariz, Mahmut, Zafer, Demsis Resselem, Tameh, Rosec, Sahe, Salem . . ." Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, (Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1984), #36, pp. 103-5

[27] For a discussion of what this term may convey, see J. Nasrallah, "Syriens et Suriens," *Symposium Syriacum 1972, Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, vol. 197, (Rome: Pontificium Orientalium Studiorum, 1974), pp. 487-503.

the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[28] However, the slaves of the Latin East were largely urban, domestic slaves, and rarely appeared in the twelfth-century charters. There seems to be little chance that the two categories would be confused. Instead the Franks may have deliberately chosen the term *villanus*, which in northern France could mean either a villager or a serf whose ancestors were free, because it may have more accurately conveyed the higher status of peasants in the Latin East. Alternatively, it may suggest that the crusaders conceived of local peasants as holding servile land tenures rather than being personally unfree.[29]

Let us then compare what we know of the conditions of peasants in the Kingdom of Jerusalem with European serfs. European serfdom was primarily characterized by three conditions: non-free legal status, attachment to the land, and the performance of servile duties and payment of servile impositions, such as *chevage*, *mainmort*, and *formariage*.[30] Did these or roughly similar conditions exist in the Latin East?

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[28] This is the explanation most historians give. For slavery in the Latin East see, Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale*, (Ghent: Riksuniversiteit te Gent, 1977), vol. 2, pp. 964-977. During the initial conquests that established the kingdom, the inhabitants of captured cities such as Caesarea were often sold into slavery; Fulcherius, *Historia*, II, IX, 6, p. 403; Ryan, *History*, p. 154; and the redemption of captives was a concern of Jewish and Muslim communities throughout the twelfth century. The Jewish communities of Egypt struggled to rescue fellow Jews who had been captured by the crusaders soon after the fall of Jerusalem in 1099. S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), vol. V, pp. 372-9. Continuing battles and raids on Muslim lands ensured a bountiful, if erratic, supply of slaves. The Spanish traveler Ibn-Jubayr testified to the concern for the redemption of Maghrebi slaves shown by pious Damascene merchants, Ibn Jubayr, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, tr. R. J. C. Broadhurst, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1952), pp. 322-3. and Usama ibn-Munqidh, both friend and foe to the Franks, recorded the numerous occasions on which he purchased Muslim slaves from the crusaders. Usama ibn-Munqidh, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades*, tr. Philip K. Hitti, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 110-2. For female captives, see Yvonne Friedman, "Women in Captivity and their Ransom during the Crusader Period," in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period*, ed. Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache, and Sylvia Schein, (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), pp. 75-88.

[29] Prawer at one point suggests the peasants are "ad glebam adscripti," which I take to mean holding servile tenures, but at another point he emphasizes that their servile condition was personal. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 204-5.

[30] William Chester Jordan, *From Servitude to Freedom: Manumission in the Séonais in the Thirteenth Century*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); Paul R. Hyams, *Kings, Lords and Peasants in Medieval England*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); R. H. Hilton, *The Decline of Serdom in Medieval England*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969); M. L. Bush (ed.), *Serfdom and Slavery: Studies in Legal Bondage*, (London: Longmans, 1996); Walter Goffart, *Caput and Colonate: Towards a History of Late Roman Taxation*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 66-90.

European serfs had a number of disabilities before the law, including *mainmort.* By this law, a serf had no heirs of the body; his lord was his heir and theoretically had the right to receive all his belongings at his death. In practice, however, families were generally allowed to inherit land and belongings, while the lord often received the best cow or pig as a sign of his right to take everything. In Jerusalem, in contrast, charters frequently mentioned the heirs of *villani,* suggesting that they owned their belongings with full legal possession.[31] Nor do the thirteenth-century legal treatises provide any impediment to full inheritance. Anecdotal evidence suggests the same. Ibn-Jubayr, a Muslim pilgrim, noticed that the Muslim peasants he visited near Acre in 1184 were left in full possession of their houses and personal belongings.[32] Nor did peasants pay *chevage,* the head tax which in western Europe was a sign of non-free status.[33]

Although marriage between villeins of different lords may well have been a concern, we do not have evidence for *formariage*, the payment by a serf if he wished to marry outside his lord's domain. The issue of intermarriage between peasants of different estates does not appear in twelfth-century sources. However, John of Ibelin devoted two chapters to this thorny issue. Should such a marriage take place, the lord of the husband must provide a replacement for the married woman, who presumably moved to his estate—but only if he agreed to the marriage.[34] In no circumstance did the peasant have to pay for the privilege to

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[31] The phrase "heredes eorum" or "suis" appears frequently. See Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #78, pp. 183-5; #111, pp. 231-2; #156, pp. 305-6; Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #470, pp. 322-3.

[32] Ibn-Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 317.

[33] One twelfth-century charter does mention a tax "qui vulges cavages dicitur." It is unclear whether this is *chevage* or *kharaj*, the Muslim land tax. Comte de Marsy, "Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'ordre de Saint Lazare, en Terre-Sainte," in *Archives de l'Orient latin*, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884), vol. II, #IX, p. 130.

[34] "Se aucun vilain dou seignor ou de chevalier ou de dame veve ou d'autre se marie à vilaine de autre leu, sanz le comandement dou seignor de la vilaine, le seignor dou vilain à cui sera mariée la vilaine estrange, rendra au seignor de la vilaine un autre en eschange à la vaillance et de tel aage, par conoissance de ciaus qui tienent l'assise." Jean d'Ibelin, "Assises de Haute Cour," Ch. 254, pp. 405-6.

marry. John of Ibelin's main concern was to maintain the agricultural workforce rather than emphasize the servility of the peasantry. Given that villages were sometimes divided among different lords, such marriages may have been common, and therefore something like John's system was needed. Perhaps the reason *formariage* was never imposed in the Latin East was because it would interfere with local religious authority. As will be discussed later, non-Catholic religious courts flourished under Latin rule, and marriage fell to their jurisdiction. Local clergy would have resisted any attempt by a Frankish lord to interfere.

The only similarity between European serfs and Palestinian peasants was that both were tied to the land, although under different conditions. The primary concern of Frankish landlords was to retain a productive workforce on their lands, not to emphasize the servility of their peasants. We can glimpse Latin concern over peasants leaving the land in a few documents, such as a charter from 1186, where Bohemund III and the Hospitallers agree to return to each other any peasant they find on their land who had come from the others' land.[35] Villeins abandoning the land could be a problem—in the 1150's a group of Hanabalis, a sect of pietist Muslims, abandoned their villages near Nablus and fled to Damascus.[36] This, however, is the only example of peasants fleeing Latin areas after conquest, and was motivated as much by religious ideology as by Frankish oppression. Yet

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[35] "Hoc autem ad ultimum notum esse volumus quod si villani mei, qui sint Saraceni vel hominum meorum sint, vel forte venerint in territorio Valenie et Margati, seu in predictis aliis tenementis, fratres Hospitalis reddent nobis eos juxta assisiam et consuetudinem terre; si vero fuerint Christiani, vel eos infra quindecim dies nobiscum pacificabunt, vel eis de terra sua licentiam dabunt. Si etiam villani eorum sint, vel forte venerint in terra mea vel hominum meorum, nos similter homines suos fratribus Hospitalis reddemus." Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #783, pp. 491-96.

[36] Emmanuel Sivan, "Réfugiés syro-palestiniens au temps des Croisades," *Revue des études islamiques* XXXV (1967), pp. 135-148; Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant," *The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries*, (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993). For more on this fascincating community, see Daniella Talmon-Heller, "The Shaykh and the Community—Popular Hanabalite Islam in 12th-13th Century Jabal Nablus and Jabal Qasyūn," *Studia Islamica* 79 (1994), pp. 103-120; Bejamin Z. Kedar, "Some New Sources on Palestinian Muslims before and during the Crusades," in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft*, ed. Hans Eberhard Mayer, (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1997), pp. 129-140; Joseph Drory, "Hanabalīs of the Nablus Region in the Eleventh

the charter of 1186 did not necessarily indicate that the villeins were tied to the land in the European sense. The agreement is better understood as a non-competition contract between landlords worried about losing their peasants to nearby landlords offering better terms. Palestine and Syria were relatively lightly-populated in this period, and thus the desire to retain one's laborers was paramount. Indeed, the only issues that John of Ibelin discussed concerning villeins relate to peasants leaving their lord's lands. John therefore provided a framework for the return of the villein, or compensation to his lord. John, however, was not concerned about peasants leaving the land to go to the cities, suggesting that a lord had no legal recourse in that situation.[37] Limiting the freedom of peasants to leave their land was therefore a response to local labor conditions, not the imposition of European ideas of serfdom.

A few charters detailing the donation of specific individuals living in the cities further complicates our view of the status of villeins. A charter from 1183 recorded the donation of a number of Greeks, Armenians, Jews and even a Frank.

> I, Bohemund, by grace of God prince of Antioch, son of Prince Raymond, . . . give, and in perpetual charity I concede these men, whose names are written below, to God and to the holy house of the poor of the Hospital of Jerusalem, and to brother Roger de Molins. These are the names: from the Greeks: Afanas, Sergius, a bricklayer, and his children, Leo, a barrel-maker, Mambarak and his children, Mambarak, a barrel-maker, Leo. From the Armenians: Hanes, a butcher, Castor, a baker, Hanes, an archer, Hanes, a blacksmith, Vasil, a blacksmith. From the Jews Bolcaran, Zao, Bolchae, and his brother, Temin, Bolshassen, Stellator. And in addition to these Hugo Straigot. These above-mentioned men, whether Latins or Greeks or Armenians or Jews, the Hospital owns, holds and possesses in perpetuity, in peace and without challenge, freely and peacefully from all tallage.[38]

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and Twelfth Centuries," *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1988), pp. 93-112. Less helpful is Hadia Dajani-Shakeel's "Displacement of the Palestinians during the Crusades," *Muslim World* 68 (1978), pp. 157-175.

[37] It is interesting that in the same charter of 1183 cited above, Bohemund donated a piece of land with its knights and villeins. This suggests that the donation of villeins with their villages is not a clear sign of servility. " . . .et cum omnibus juribus suis, cum militibus, et hominibus, et universis villanis ad feodum pertinentibus . ." Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #783, p. 492.

[38] "Inde est quod ego Boamundus, Dei gratia princeps Antiochenus, Raimondi principis filius, notum facio presentibus et futuris quod ego dono, et in perpetuam elemosinam concedo hos homines,

This charter is in many ways inexplicable, though we must recognize that since it comes from Antioch, the legal and social conditions might differ from those we have been discussing in Jerusalem. These men, all craftsmen and not farmers, were residents of Lattakia, on the coast of Syria. The charter never refers to them as *villanus* or even *sclavus*, although other historians have interpreted it to mean that individuals remained serfs even when they came to the cities.[39] However, in doing so they discounted the presence of Latins on the list; but the inclusion of both the name "Hugo" and the listing of "Latinos" alongside the other categories suggests that this was not simply a scribal slip. Our inability to understand in what way these men were donated to the Hospital, and what conditions this imposed on them should caution us from easily categorizing other donations as signs of European serfdom.

The silence of Muslim travelers to the Latin East on this issue is also suggestive. One might have thought that the imposition of this degrading European institution on Muslim peasants might provoke a reaction. Usama ibn Munqidh, despite boundless curiosity and numerous visits to the kingdom, did not mention any change to the status of peasants under the Franks, and neither does Ibn-Jubayr, although he spent the night in the house of a Muslim *ra'is* near Acre in 1184. Ibn Jubayr is well-known for his comment that "the Muslim community bewails the injustice of a landlord of his own faith, and applauds the conduct of

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quorum subscripta sunt nomina, Deo et sancte domui pauperum Hospitalis Jerusalem, fratrique Rogerio de Molins, ejusdem domus magistro, per manum quoque fratris Alexandri, tunc domorum Laodicie et Gabuli preceptoris. Hec sunt nomina: De Grecis: Afanis, Segius, cementarius, et sui nati; Leo, costurer; Mambarac, et sui nati; Mambarac, corveser; Leo. De Armeniis: Hanes, carnifex; Castor, furner; Hanes, archer; Hanes, faber; Vassilius, faber. De Judeis: Bolcaran, Zao, Bolchae, et frater ejus; Temin; Bolshassen; Stellator. Et preter Hugo Straigot. Hos itaque surpradictos homines, tam Latinos quam Graecos et Armenios et Judeos, habeat domus Hospitalis, teneat, et possident in perpetuum, in pace et sine calumpnia, liberos et quietos ab omni tallea." Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #648, pp. 436-7.

[39] Joshua Prawer admitted that this was not an easy charter to interpret. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 213.

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its opponent and enemy, the Frankish landlord, and is accustomed to justice from him."[40] Ibn-Jubayr's praise of the Franks may have a polemical purpose intended to shame Muslim landlords into better treatment of their peasants; yet such a tactic would not be effective had Palestinian peasants actually lost status as a result of the crusader conquest.

The most decisive factor that separated John the Syrian from his European counterpart, was that the Palestinian peasant was not obligated to perform *corvées* or other servile unpaid labor.[41] The wide variety of customs that prevailed in the Latin East suggests that in each locale the duties owed by the peasants were created through a fusion of older local customs combined with new Latin expectations. From the twelfth-century charters, we can see that the peasants paid a certain percentage of their crop yield, anywhere from one-quarter to a half, to their lord. Ibn-Jubayr reported that the Muslim peasants around Acre gave half of their crop and paid a poll-tax of one dinar and five qirat per person, plus a light tax on produce from trees.[42] Thirteenth-century charters suggest that the financial burden upon the peasantry may have grown, perhaps in response to the diminished incomes of many Frankish lords following the conquests of Saladin and the Third Crusade. Thus, of the many servile conditions that defined European serfdom—*chevage, mainmort, formariage, corvées* and being tied to the land—only the latter could be found in the Latin East. These differences between the status and service of European and Palestinian peasants militate against the use of the term "serf" in the Latin East. "Indentured peasant" may more accurately convey their personal freedom with the requirements to remain on the land.

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[40] Ibn Jubayr, *Travels*, p. 317.

[41] The few examples we have date to the thirteenth century. One twelfth-century charter from the monastery of St. Mary of Josaphat mentions the commutation of labor services for a monetary payment, but both the date and provenance of this charter are unclear, as we have only a French translation of an eighteenth-century copy of the medieval cartulary. Ch. Kohler, "Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de la vallée de Josaphat en Terre-Sainte (1108-1291)," *Revue de l'Orient latin VII* (1900), #10, pp. 120-1.

Local Rural Landowners and Administrators

Traditional crusader historiography divided the rural world of Palestine into two groups—the local peasants and the Frankish lords. Yet a third group flourished which contained both Palestinians and Franks—non-aristocratic landowners. Generally, historians have lumped together local landowners with the peasants, while all rural Franks were assumed to be among the elite. The group of local landowners who have received the most attention are the *ru'asa* (singular *ra'is,* Arabic for "leader, chief, or mayor") who helped the Latins administer their estates and govern local communities. Riley-Smith divides these leaders into two different types: the *ra'is* of the town and the *ra'is* of the village,[43] concluding that the latter was a serf, and the former a free man. We have already argued that the term 'serf' was misapplied to the Levant, especially in the twelfth century. Given the lack of evidence for serfdom, we will stick closer to the evidence if we accept the *ru'asa* as a single group, living sometimes in towns and sometimes in smaller communities, but always legally free.

The *ru'asa* were not merely henchmen working under Frankish orders, but local landowners worthy of respect from locals and Latins alike. A charter from 1174 documented the gift of three-quarters of the village of Meserafe that Abd al-Masih, the *ra'is* of Margat [Marqab], made to the Hospitallers. The son of Abd al-Masih, George, was like his father, also *ra'is* of Margat; he continued to own a fourth of the village, and was witness

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[42] Ibn-Jubayr, *Travels,* p. 316.

[43] Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Some lesser officials in Latin Syria," *English Historical Review* 87 (1972), pp. 10-11; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility,* pp. 47-9; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions,* pp. 207-8.

to the charter.[44] This family may well have owned other villages (indeed, it would surprising if they gave away most of their property), and would have been as wealthy as many a Frankish knight. Abd al-Masih is unusual in that he donated his property to a Latin ecclesiastical institution, rather than selling it. The *ra'is* Melenganus was more typical; he sold to the Knights of St. Lazarus three pieces of land near Bethlehem in 1150.[45] Guido Raicus, who witnessed charters in Nablus in 1178,[46] owned half the lands of Mesdedule, which he had received from King Amalric.[47] In 1185, Guido sold it to the monks of Notre-Dame de Josaphat, for four thousand fifty bezants, a transaction that took place in the royal court.[48] It is impossible to tell whether Guido was Frankish, a local Christian with a Frankish name, or even a Muslim convert. In any case, a *ra'is* with a Frankish name hints at a rural world where locals and Latins occupied the same offices, or where local inhabitants identified with their Frankish neighbors and their culture through the assumption of Latin names. The possibility of a Frankish *ra'is* further emphasizes that the *ru'asa* were free, and that the office, whether rural or urban, was one of substantial authority and position.

This notion is confirmed by recent archeological work showing that the Franks lived in the countryside as well, sometimes in villages inhabited by both Latins and locals. Some towns such as Magna Mahumeria [al-Bira] were built for Frankish colonists, who worked the land themselves. Even more numerous were villages with mixed populations. Ronnie Ellenblum has shown that the Franks generally established new settlements near existing

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[44] "Cum his etiam concedo et possidendum confirmo eidem domui Hospitalis et fratribus donum illud quod fecit jamdicte domui Hospitalis Abdelmessie, raiz de Margat, videlicet tres partes unius casalis quod dicitur Meserafe . . ." J. Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers* #457, pp. 313-4. We have no way of knowing what religion Abdelmessie and George were, but the latter's name, being that of a Christian saint, suggests that they were Christian. This uncertainty applies for nearly every individual discussed in this chapter, Franks and locals alike.

[45] Marsy, "Fragment d'un cartulaire," #VII, p. 128;

[46] J. Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire des Hospitaliers*, #530-2, pp. 363-4.

[47] Kohler, "Chartes de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame," #39, pp. 147-8.

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Christian villages, with whom they often shared the same church.[49] In other villages such as 'Abud [Casale Sancti Marie], Latin farmers settled within the village without building separate *castra* or settlements.[50]

Yet this evidence for a group of wealthy local Christian landowners should not lead us to think that their economic relationships with the crusaders was a sign of goodwill and harmony between different communities. As we have seen already in northern Syria, the existence of a local rural elite may actually signal greater tensions between Latin immigrants and indigenous communities. In a religiously-based social hierarchy, such as that described by Riley-Smith and Prawer, where a clear distinction divides society into two groups—the ruling elite and the powerless peasants—there is less chance for conflict, for the two groups hardly interact. However, the situation in Palestine was a bit messier. Local leaders, who had power and prestige within their communities, might not have looked upon the crusaders with much favor. We get a hint of the possible tension in a charter from the *ra'is* Morage, who was forced by his debts to the king to sell a mill to the Holy Sepulchre.[51] While we have no idea what financial pressures led Morage to do this, his debts may well have been incurred through competition with Frankish elites.

The traditional picture of the constitution of the Kingdom of Jerusalem placed the town *ra'is* as the presider over the *Cour des Syriens*, which, according to John of Ibelin, had

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[48] Henri-François Delaborde (ed.), *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*, (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1880), #43, p. 91.

[49] Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, p. 128.

[50] Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, p. 130.

[51] "... ego Morage Raiz, coactus necessitate debiti regis, vendidi assensu etiam ipsius regis et consensu heredum et parentum meorum, quamdam partem domus mee in qua molendinum habueram, a fundamento in altum quantum edificari potest, canonicis Sancti Sepulchri libere et quiete jure perpetuo possidendam pro CXX bisantiis et XII modiis frumenti." Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, (Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1984), #111, pp. 231-2.

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authority over all non-Latin Christians. He ascribed the origin of this court to Godfrey of Bouillon.

> After this [the establishment of the High Court and the Burgess Court], the Syrians came before the king of the realm [Godfrey] and beseeched and requested that he would see that they would be governed by the traditions of the Syrians, and that they might have a chief and jurors of the court, and that by this court they would be governed according to their usages concerning the complaints that arose among them. And he consented to the said court without jurisdiction of that which pertains to loss of life or limb, or jurisdiction of the bourgeois; which would be pleaded and determined before him or before his viscount. And the chief of this court is titled *ra'is* in Arabic.[52]

Although we know of the existence of a large number of twelfth-century *ru'asa*, we have no evidence for the existence of their courts. What we do have evidence for is local informal religious courts. Perhaps the basis for John of Ibelin's story is the continuation of local ecclesiastical courts with authority over religious matters such as marriage and wills. In keeping with western European legal traditions, the Franks themselves maintained separate ecclesiastical and secular courts. Historians have uncritically assumed that the *Cour des Syriens* was a part of the secular Frankish legal system, when it was more likely a part of an informal network of religious courts. The contradictory nature of this assumption is revealed in the conclusion that the *ru'asa*, who were largely Christians, somehow had the authority to judge Muslims using Islamic law by virtue of presiding at the *Cour des Syriens*.[53] No direct evidence for the court exists, however, aside from the two brief and theoretical notices of John of Ibelin. Legal disputes within religious communities would usually end up before the local *qadi*, rabbi, or priest. For example, the rabbinic court of Tyre heard testimony from a

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[52] "Et après ce, le peuple des Suriens vindrent devant le roi dou dit roiaume, et li prierent et requistrentqu'il vosist que il fucent menés par l'usage des Suriens, et qu'il y eust d'iaus chevetaine et jurez de court, et que par celle court il fucent menés selonc lor court auf carelle de sanc et carelle de quoi l'on pert vie ou membre, et carelle de borgesie; les quels il vost que eles fucent plaidées et determinées devant lui ou devant son visconte. Et le chevetaine de celle court est apelé *rays* en lor language Arabic, et les autres jurés." Jean d'Ibelin, "Assises", ch. IV, p. 26.

[53] Riley-Smith, "Minor officials," p. 4.

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Christian over the death of a Jewish husband, and corresponded with Maimonides in order to resolve the issue.[54] Local Christian priests and bishops very likely also maintained separate religious courts, although, again, no direct evidence survives. Even non-religious conflicts that occurred within a religious community may have been handled without recourse to the Frankish legal system.

For matters of public record, however, local Christians used the same courts as their Frankish neighbors. A charter of 1125 recorded the purchase of a house by Bernard de Châteauroux and his wife Havidis from George the *ra'is*. The sale was made before the viscount of Jerusalem, Anschetinus, and was witnessed by twenty-one burgesses.[55] Joshua Prawer used this charter to analyze the origin of the burgess court, but what he overlooks is that George the *ra'is*, in all probability a local Christian, was competent to testify before the viscount and do business in his court. There is little reason therefore to believe that the *Cour des Syriens* existed in the twelfth century. Its purpose was ill-defined and evidence of any sort is lacking. Instead, local Christians used the same courts as the Franks.[56]

The *ru'asa* were not the only indigenous officials of the Frankish administration. Another office was that of the *scribanagium*, which was a position of more prestige than that of *ra'is*, but whose incumbents often performed similar tasks of administering rural estates.

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[54] Joshua Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 97-8; n. 13. For a detailed description of the functioning of such courts in Egypt, see S. D. Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, vol. II, *The Community*, pp. 311-345.

[55] Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #95, pp. 212-3.

[56] Another possible role for the *ru'asa* was as leaders of local troops. In twelfth-century Aleppo and Damascus the *ru'asa* were leaders of urban militias. Local Christians participated in the defense of the Kingdom of Jerusalem; William of Tyre recorded that Fulk of Tiberias had a placed a castle on the east bank of the Jordan under the command of Syrian officers. Willermus Tyrensis, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, vol. I, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1844), I, x, xxiv, pp. 1090-1, translated in William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, tr. Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), vol. II, pp. 470-1. , 22, 15, vol. 2 pp. 470-1. Jean Richard has speculated that eastern Christians may also have may also have made up part of the turcopoles, the troops who were in origin converted Turks. "Les Turcopoles au service des royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre: Musulmans convertis ou chrétiens orientaux?" *Revue des études islamiques* 54 (1986), pp. 261-270.

This office could be filled by Franks or locals. In a charter of 1176 Baldwin, lord of Ramla, confirmed the sale of the village of Bethduras [Giv'ati] to Constance, the countess of St. Gilles. Specifically excluded from the sale was the *scribanagium* of George of Betheri [Khan et-Tira, near Nablus], whose name suggests that he was Christian.[57] The next year George sold the office to Constance for two hundred and fifty bezants. It is a sign of the wealth and importance of this office that the sale required confirmation in separate charters by King Baldwin IV, Baldwin, lord of Ramla, and Sybilla, countess of Jaffa, heiress to the throne. [58] By the thirteenth century, the position was sometimes held in return for military service. [59]

Another such office was that of dragoman, which originally began as a translator (from the Arabic *tarjuman,* meaning interpreter). Like the scribe, the dragoman could also be a Frank or a local Palestinian. Most whose names survive sound Frankish, but on a list of properties owing payments to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher we find the dragoman Brain (probably a Latin rendering of Ibrahim).[60] The dragoman was more than an interpreter, however. He served as an intermediary between the *ru'asa* of the rural areas and the owners of the estates.[61] This substantial class of local Christian officials in the service of Frankish lords points to the existence of a small, but important sector of society that was legally on an equal basis with Latin Christians. Its members witnessed their charters, attended the same courts, and owned property side by side.

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[57] We have no evidence of Frankish settlement at Betheri, making it more likely that George is indigenous. Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général de des Hospitaliers,* vol. I, #495, p. 341. For other local Christians serving as scribes, see George Syrianus and his brother David, both scribes, in *Les Archives, la Bibliothèque et le Trésor de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem a Malte,* ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, fasc. 32, *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome,* (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1883), #61, pp. 153-4.

[58] Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général de des Hospitaliers,* vol. I, #516-518, pp. 352-3.

[59] Riley-Smith, "Some lesser officials," p. 23.

[60] Bresc-Bautier, *Le Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre,* #168, p. 322. For evidence of other local Christians named Brain, see #43, p. 121.

Indigenous Knights

Local Christian integration into the Frankish social structure extended beyond the small-time landowners and administrators such as Brain, George the *ra'is* and others. Local Christians were able to become a part of the ruling military elite without converting to Latin Christianity.[62] The majority of evidence for indigenous knights comes from early in the twelfth century. One of the earliest to appear is Barda Armeno, who is a witness to a charter of William of Bures, prince of Galilee in 1126.[63] His name is clearly a Latinized version of Bardas the Armenian, and he may well have been a companion of Joscelin de Courtenay in Edessa, accompanying him when he became prince of Galilee. By witnessing charters in the company of other knights and owning more than one village, Bardas shows himself to be more than another dragoman or other minor functionary, but a knight.[64] In 1129, he donated the village of Coketum to the Hospitallers.[65] Another knight surnamed Armeno, but going by the first name of George, was serving under Walter, lord of Caesarea in 1145.[66] Peter Hermenius, clearly another Armenian and possibly a son of either George or Bardas, witnessed two charters in Jerusalem in 1161,[67] and was listed under the *milites* in another charter of 1163.[68] Perhaps the best-known, and most prominent, local family in the service

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[61] For a fuller discussion of the dragoman, see Riley-Smith, "Some lesser officials," pp. 15-19.

[62] The only historian to consider these individuals as significant in any way is Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, tr. Janet Shirley, (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1979), vol. I, pp. 140-3.

[63] Delaborde (ed.), *Chartes de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*, #14, pp. 40-1.

[64] Reinhold Röhricht (ed.), *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani*, (Oeniponti, Libraria academica Wagneriana, 1904), #130, p. 32.

[65] Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #84, p. 79. This was confirmed in #225, p. 173.

[66] Röhricht, *Regesta*, #237, p. 60; Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #59, p. 151.

[67] Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #88, pp. 201-3, #131, pp. 257-8.

[68] Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #312, pp. 225-6. A certain Thomas Hernium shows up as a brother among the Templars, who may be from the same family. Marsy, "Fragment d'un cartulaire," #V, p. 126.

of the Franks were the Arrabi family, who began as knights in the service of the Ibelins.[69] The progenitor of the family was Moses Arrabi; his last name may be an epithet meaning "enraged" rather than a comment on his ethnic origins.[70] His grandson John Arrabi was still in the service of Ibelins in 1166.[71] What is perhaps most enlightening about the Arrabi family is not that they served as knights under Frankish lords, although this is important, but how quickly they integrated into Frankish society. Moses' grandsons were named John, Peter and Henry, and were it not for their distinctive surname, as Jonathan Riley-Smith has pointed out, we would assume that they were Franks.[72] For some historians, this name shift and their high status is proof that the Arrabi family converted to Latin Christianity. If this were indeed the case, we might expect that Moses himself might have been given a different name upon emerging from the baptismal font; Moses must have had a distinctly Jewish or Islamic sound to Crusader ears, though it was common among eastern Christians. It is less surprising that after three generations of service with other Peters, Henrys and Johns, that the Arrabi family adopted such names as their own. We should be open to the possibility that other local Christian knights lurk in our sources, hiding under deceptive names like Baldwin, Guy or Fulk.[73] This disappearance of distinctive local names may be part of the reason we have relatively little evidence for native knights in the 1170's and 80's.

In addition to the Armenian knights and the Arrabi family, a number of other names appear on witness lists that suggests that they were local Christians. The marshal of Jerusalem from 1125 to 1154 was Sado, a name that occurs rarely in western Europe and

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[69] He first shows up as "Arrabi" in 1122. Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général de des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #59, p. 49; see also Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #44, pp. 121-2, #47, pp. 129-131, #51, pp. 137-8.

[70] See Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, vol. I, p. 141.

[71] Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #354, p. 245.

[72] Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #495, p. 341; Delaborde (ed.), *Chartes de Terre Sainte*, #32, pp. 78-9. Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 10.

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may be the Arabic name 'Sa'd.[74] We do find the similar name Sade among peasants on the estates of the Holy Sepulchre.[75] In some of the charters that Sa'd witnessed, he is listed as one of the barons of the realm.[76] It is of course impossible to tell whether Sa'd was a Christian or a Muslim,[77] but either shows the opportunity for Palestinians to achieve high office under the Franks. As marshal, Sa'd may have commanded the *turcopoles*, troops composed of indigenous archers on horseback.[78] Michael Grifo, whose last name indicates that he was Greek, held the aristocratic office of the *panetarius*, perhaps in the household of Queen Theodora.[79] A certain David the Syrian held a cave in the mountains of Lebanon, which in time came into the hands William of Krak, and was called the "*raisagium* of the mountains."[80] We do not know what happened to David, but it is clear that the cave, plus its surrounding territories, was a valuable military possession that remained in the hands of a local Christian until 1142. Other names survive as witnesses in charters that suggest that

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[73] A further example of local Christians bearing Frankish names is Arnulf, son of Bernard the Syrian. Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #68, p. 165.

[74] As marshal, he witnessed many charters. For a few examples, see Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #26, 30, 32, 34, 38; Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #77, p. 73; Marsy, "Fragment d'un cartulaire," #III, p. 125. The frequency with which he appeared in the charter lists suggest that Prawer's conclusion that "the office never attained any real importance" might need to be revised. *The Crusaders' Kingdom: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages*, (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1972), p. 124. C. K. Slack mentions Sado in his discussion of royal *familiares*, but does not discuss his religion. "Royal Familiares in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100-1187," *Viator* 22 (1991), p. 24.

[75] Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #36, pp. 103-5.

[76] Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #38, p. 109.

[77] A seventeenth-century redaction of Hospitaller charters records the existence in 1181 of Sade, the *ra'is* of the saracens of Tyre, along with his brother William, leaving it unclear whether Sade was a Mulsim or Christian. J. Delaville de la Roulx, "Inventaire de pièces de Terre Sainte de l'ordre de l'Hopital," *Revue de l'Orient latin* III (1895), #140, p. 66.

[78] "Bien sachés que l'office dou mareschau dou reaume si est que il deit estre tout premier hors au cri o la bainiere reau, por arenger et por destenir les gens de terre qu'il ne vaisent folement et se perdissent par male garde. Et puis que li rois est venus hors, ou celuy qui seroit en son leuc, si deit le mareschau ordener ses eschielles et des chevaliers et des Trucopoiles, segont ce que miaus li en cemblera. Et si sont tenus par dreit, et les chevaliers et les Trucopoles d'obeÿr tous le coumandement au mareschau ni ne se dreit meuvre nule eschielle ne poindre sans le congé dou mareschau ni torner arieres." Greilsammer (ed.), *Le Livre au roi*, ch. 9, pp. 157-8.

[79] Marsy, "Fragment d'un cartulaire," #XX, p. 139.

[80] Jean Richard, "*Cum omni raisagio montanee* ... à propos de la cession du Crac aux Hospitaliers," in *Itinéraries d'Orient: Hommages à Claude Cahen*, ed. Raoul Curiel and Rika Gyselen,

they were local Christians or even Muslims: among the *milites* of Margat were the *domini* Zacharias, Georgius, and Theodorus, all names common among eastern Christians.[81] Other names include Salem,[82] Vahram,[83] Michael, son of Molkim, Ibrahim, son of Sucar,[84] and another Ibrahim.[85] Seardus, a Syrian from Hebron, was witness to a charter in 1148. His rank is not given, but his name is between a Latin resident of Jerusalem and a Hospitaller knight, suggesting he was of equal status with them.[86] A charter of 1155 reveals that the villages of Odadbeb and Damersor [Dayr Mūhaysin] belonged to two Arab knights.[87] There is no evidence that any of these individuals converted to Latin Christianity, nor is there any evidence that it was necessary that they do so in order to be knights. Many of these indigenous knights may have participated in the *Haute Cour* of the kingdom,[88] but where their influence was mostly likely felt was in the court of the great lordships of the kingdom, where the leading barons consulted their knights and liegemen.

How much does this change the way we understand the lives of local Christians under Frankish rule? For peasants such as John the Syrian, our perception has changed relatively little. Having taken away the misleading title of serf, we see his position more clearly, and can see how little agricultural practices, taxes and rural society changed for his family with the arrival of the crusaders. We can understand other local Christians, however, in a much different light. Although indigenous city-dwellers attended the same courts as

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(Bures-sur-Yvette: Groupe pour l'Étude de la Civilisation du Moyen-Orient, 1994), pp. 187-194; Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #144, p. 117.

[81] Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #783, pp. 491-96.

[82] Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #36, pp. 103-5; #131, p. 358. For another Salem who is certainly indigenous, see #43, p. 120.

[83] Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #88, pp. 201-3.

[84] Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, 77, p. 182.

[85] Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #312, p. 225.

[86] Marsy, "Fragment d'un cartulaire," #VI, p. 127.

[87] Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #41, pp. 113-5.

[88] By an *assise* of 1162, all fief-holders took an oath of homage to the king directly, and thus enjoyed the privilege of attending the high court.

Franks, this does not mean they received equal justice there. The existence of a small class of local landowners similarly suggests greater interaction with Latins, but also the possibility of greater conflict. And finally, those few local Christians and perhaps Muslims who were knights and lords show that far greater social mobility was possible than previously thought. But the relatively small numbers of such men (though there may be more of whom we have no record or who are unrecognizable due to Frankish names) remind us that the kings who ruled over the land called themselves "rex Iherusalem Latinorum"—King of Jerusalem of the Latins, showing that this was still far from an integrated society.[89]

[89] Queen Melisende is the one monarch who seems to have chosen simply "regina Jherusolimorum." See Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre*, #35, 36, 37; Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #191.

Chapter 6

The Price of Unity:

Ecumenical Negotiations and the End of "Rough Toleration"

In 1169, the Basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem received on its nave, transepts, bema and west wall new mosaics, sponsored by the purple-born Emperor of Byzantium, Manuel I Komnenos. The mosaics in the nave depict early councils of the church, with portraits of Christ's ancestors below. On the south wall of the nave are the seven ecumenical councils, while the north wall shows six provincial councils. [1] The images of the councils, together with the dedicatory inscription naming Manuel as patron with the assistance of Ralph, the Latin bishop of Bethlehem, and Amalric, king of Jerusalem, proclaimed to pilgrim and local alike the unity of the Church, grounded in the ecumenical councils under the authority of the emperors—a particularly Byzantine vision of ecumenicism.[2] An image of the emperor was even placed in the sanctuary of the church, symbolically giving imperial legitimation to the councils' definitions of orthodoxy. [3] Bethlehem was not the only church under Latin control that benefited from the generosity of the emperor. Manuel also donated gold to cover the stone slab within the Holy Sepulcher where Jesus' body lay, thus establishing himself as patron *ne plus ultra* of the holiest shrine in

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[1] Ancyra (A.D. 314), Antioch (A. D. 272), Sardica (A.D. 342), Gangra (A. D. 345), Laodicea (A.D. 364), and Carthage (A.D. 255).

[2] Even the text of the creed was written to Byzantine specifications, that is, without the 'filioque' clause. Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Art and Colonialism: The Mosaics of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (1169) and the Problem of 'Crusader Art,'" *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): pp. 69-85; Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098-1187*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 347-364; Andrew Jotischky, "Manuel Comnenus and the Reunion of the Churches: the Evidence of the Conciliar Mosaics in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem," *Levant* 26 (1994): pp. 207-224.

[3] A further difference between the Greeks and Latins is that the Greeks insisted that only an emperor could summon an ecumenical council, while the Latins believed the Pope should lead it.

Christendom and the coronation church of the Frankish kings.[4] As in the days of Constantine and Helena, the Christian shrines of the Holy Land were once again liberally bedecked with Byzantine gold.

Manuel's patronage was not a continuation of traditional imperial protection of the Holy Places, for the emperor could no longer claim a special role as guardian. Whereas Byzantine emperors of the eleventh century did have a role as protectors of the Holy Sepulcher,[5] that honor had been usurped by the Frankish kings in the twelfth century. It is surprising that the new Frankish leadership of the Holy Land let such a pious, ancient and politically advantageous role slip from their hands. The basilica of the Nativity (and even more the Church of the Holy Sepulcher) was like Times Square and the Lincoln Memorial rolled into one—simultaneously places of high traffic, prestige and sacrality. Why then did Amalric and Ralph give to Manuel this unparalleled opportunity? Not only was Manuel the monarch of a neighboring, and sometimes rival, state, but the emperor was also, from a Latin perspective, a schismatic. The answer comes in the political changes of the mid-twelfth century. As Jonathan Philips has argued, the accumulation of power under Nur-ad-Din, sultan of Aleppo and Damascus, led to an increasing feeling of insecurity among the Frankish leadership, and the failure of the Second Crusade to aid them led the king of Jerusalem and his nobles to believe that western Europe was unlikely to hold back the

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[4] Joannis Phocae, "Descriptio Terrae Sanctae," *Patrologiae Graecae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1864; reprinted Turnholt: Brepols, 1977), col. 943; translated in John Phocas, "A General Description of the Settlements and Places belonging to Syria and Phoenicia on the Way from Antioch to Jerusalem, and of the Holy Places of Palestine," in *Jerusalem Pilgrimage 1099-1185*, ed. John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill and W. F. Ryan, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), p. 324. For other discussions of Manuel's artistic patronage in the Holy Land, see A. M. Weyl-Carr, "The Mural Paintings of Abu Ghosh and the Patronage of Manuel Comnenus in the Holy Land," *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Jaroslav Folda, (Jerusame: British Archaeological Reports, 1982), pp. 215-34.

[5] Runciman suggests that this was largely an informal authority. Steven Runciman, "The Byzantine 'Protectorate' in the Holy Land," *Byzantion* 18 (1948): pp. 207-15.

Turks.[6] Instead, it was Manuel, heir of the great Byzantine emperors of the past, wealthiest of all monarchs and leader of one of the largest armies in the Middle East, who was seen as the protector and savior of the Holy Land and all the Christian communities settled in it. Yet Manuel was an unlikely and unwelcome savior. Many Franks blamed him for the failure of the Second Crusade, believing that the emperor had colluded with the Seljuks to destroy the crusading army.[7] Furthermore, Manuel, his father John II and his grandfather Alexios I had long sought to reassert Byzantine authority over Antioch, a goal inimical to Frankish aspirations.

Manuel, however, was eager to claim the position, and saw himself as protector of a great deal more than just the Holy Land. As ambitious as Justinian, Manuel hoped to be the sole Roman emperor in both the east and west, and to rule once again over Rome. To achieve his goals, Manuel took a three-pronged approach—negotiations with the papacy on union between the Constantinopolitan and Roman churches and concomitantly on papal recognition of Manuel as the sole emperor, a political alliance with the Latin principalities of the Levant in which they would recognize him as overlord; and ecclesiastical negotiations with the Armenians and Jacobites to bring religious unity to the new Byzantine Mediterranean world he sought to create. The period from 1158 to 1172 saw intense diplomatic and military efforts to achieve these goals.[8]

Manuel's quest to create a unified Byzantine world in the Mediterranean paradoxically resulted in heightened consciousness of the differences separating different Christian communities, as well as insistence on maintaining those divisions. Whereas in

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[6] Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 100-139.

[7] William of Tyre believed that the Greek guides furnished to the German army deliberately led the crusaders astray, and then abandoned them in the midst of the Turkish territories. Willermus Tyrensis, "Historia," *RHC*, vol. I, part, II, XVI, 21, p. 741; trans. Babcock and Krey, *History of Deeds*, vol. II, p. 169.

[8] Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

earlier chapters we have seen that relationships between different communities were largely driven by local circumstance, allowing 'rough toleration' to flourish, Manuel's initiatives pushed local communities to respond to the growing ambitions of Constantinople and Rome. The appearance of mosaics with an ecumenical message sponsored by Manuel in the Church of the Nativity was thus the material expression of imperial ambitions that could be politically and culturally felt throughout the eastern Mediterranean basin. Although the mosaics suggested a unified Christian world, in reality the ecumenical ideal they embodied brought schism, confusion, and controversy to Armenians and Jacobites alike.

The scope of Manuel's ambition was most obvious in his attempts to reach an agreement with the papacy. Sometime around 1166, Manuel sent Jordan of Capua to Rome to negotiate for the union of the churches, and to obtain papal recognition of Manuel as the sole emperor. He chose an opportune moment. Pope Alexander III was eager for Manuel's support, as he feared that Emperor Frederick of Germany was planning an invasion of Italy and would threaten the papacy's independence. While Jordan of Capua was welcomed warmly by the pope, he received no clear answer to his proposals. The following year Alexander sent Ubald, bishop of Ostia, and John, the papal vicar of the city of Rome, to Constantinople for further negotiations, which continued throughout the 1160's and 1170's. [9] Manuel and Alexander were not the first to try to align papal and Byzantine interests, and had they achieved their goals, the history of Europe and the Middle East would have taken a much different route. Given, however, Manuel's sense of divine imperial authority, which led him to conduct ecumenical negotiations personally rather than delegating them to the

[9] Boso, "Alexander III," *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1892), vol. II, p. 415; see also Werner Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III*, (Berlin: Mathiesen Verlag, 1928; reprinted Vaduz: Kraus Reprint Ltd, 1965), pp. 69-90.

patriarch of Constantinople, it was unlikely he would ever accept the papacy's own claims to divine authority.

Manuel was far more successful in asserting Byzantine leadership over the Latin east. He was no stranger to the area; he was with his father, John II, on campaign in Cilicia when the latter died in 1143. John had hoped to establish Manuel as the ruler of an independent principality in Cilicia and northern Syria.[10] His father's method had been to win Cilicia from the Armenians and Antioch from the Latins through conquest, but once emperor, Manuel sought to assert his authority through diplomacy and displays of military strength. In 1157, he concluded an alliance with Baldwin III of Jerusalem, who married his niece Theodora. The following year Manuel led a large army to Cilicia, which he used to "encourage" Latin and Armenian submission. The emperor presided over the ritual humiliation of Reynald, prince of Antioch, who came to his camp barefoot and clad in a short woolen tunic to apologize for his pillaging of Cyprus. Manuel insisted that the citadel of Antioch be surrendered to him, and his Greek patriarch be admitted to the city in place of the Latin patriarch. As a fully public sign of his authority, Manuel enjoyed an imperial triumphal entry into the city. The Byzantine chronicler John Kinnamos proclaimed that "the entire foreign and outland [populace] was astonished, observing in addition to these things Reynald and the nobles of Antioch running on foot around the imperial horse, and Baldwin, a crowned man, parading a long way behind on horseback, but without insignia."[11] These triumphs did not require Manuel to risk his forces in battle with the Franks; instead through a careful display

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[10] Magdalino, *Manuel I Komnenos*, pp. 36-41.

[11] "ἐχειρίζοντο δὲ τύπους σταυρικούς, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ προὔφερον λόγια, ὡς ἐκπεπλῆκθαι τὸ ξένον ἅπαν καὶ ἐπῆλυ, ὁρῶν πρὸς τούτοις Ρενάλδον μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ δόξης Αντιοχέων ποσὶν ἀμφὶ βασίλειον παραθέοντας ἵππον, Βαλδουῖνον δὲ ἄνδρα στεφηφοροῦντα μακρὰν ἄποθεν ἐφίππον μὲν παντάπασι δὲ ἀσήμαντον πορευόμενον." Ioannis Cinnamus, *Epitome*, ed. Augustus Meineke, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, (Bonn,

of military strength, diplomacy and wealth, the emperor gained unprecedented influence over the princes of the Latin east.

The Council of 1141

Also important to Manuel's vision of a Byzantine Mediterranean was the reunion of the Armenian and Jacobite churches with Constantinople. The negotiations between Manuel and the Armenian patriarchate began in 1165, but twelfth-century sources hint that some ecclesiastical contact between Byzantium and local Christian leaders had already begun in the 1140's, laying the groundwork for Manuel's later initiatives. On the other hand, Latin ecclesiastics had evinced little interest in the theological beliefs of local Christians. Michael the Syrian's praise of Frankish tolerance would have rung true for many local Christian communities.

> The Franks, that is to say the Romans, who occupied Antioch and Jerusalem, had, as we have already explained, bishops in their states. And the pontiffs of our church were among them, without being persecuted or attacked; . . . although the Franks were in accord with the Greeks concerning the duality of Christ's nature . . . they never sought a single formula for all the Christian people and languages, but they considered as christian anyone who worshipped the cross without investigation or examination.[12]

A Jacobite reader would immediately see in Michael's praise of Frankish tolerance a condemnation of the Byzantines, who repeatedly had sought a 'single formula' for Christians everywhere, and did so again under Manuel. What little evidence we do have for Latin interest in local Christian belief in the twelfth-century Levant came from the papacy, not local Franks. In 1141, the papal legate Alberic of Ostia came to the Latin East, sent by Pope

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1836), vol. 26, pp. 187-8; John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, tr. Charles M. Brand, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 143.

[12] ". . . [illegible]" Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. IV, p. 607 (inside column), tr. vol. III, XVI, I, p. 222. Full Syriac citations are rather difficult to produce, so I have in this chapter

Innocent II to depose Ralph of Domfront, Patriarch of Antioch.[13] Following the successful conclusion of the council, Alberic journeyed to Jerusalem to attend the Easter celebrations at the Holy Sepulcher. While in the Holy City, the legate attended the formal consecration of the Dome of the Rock as a Christian church (the Temple of the Lord), and held a council on Mt. Sion. According to William of Tyre's vague description, the synod was intended "to address matters which seemed especially pertinent at the moment," which in some way involved the presence of "the great bishop of Armenia, or rather, the prince of all the bishops of Cappadocia, Media, Persia, and the two Armenias, a distinguished teacher who is called the *Catholicos*. . ."[14] This bishop, to whom William ascribed such widespread authority, was Gregory III Pahlavuni, nephew of his predecessor Gregory II Vykaser and cousin of Barsegh I. The doctrinal differences between the Armenians and the Latins were discussed, and "the great bishop" promised reforms.

William's account leaves the reader feeling a bit confused. Why was the council called? Why was Gregory, an Armenian patriarch, attending a Latin council? We are fortunate that Michael the Syrian gave a much longer account of the council, as the Jacobite bishop of Jerusalem, Ignatios, was also in attendance. In Michael's view, the synod had nothing to do with Jerusalem, and everything to do with the legate and the Byzantines. The presence of the Armenian patriarch, and perhaps of Ignatios as well, was a result of the charge of heresy "certain malicious Greeks, accustomed to evil" had made against the Armenians and the Jacobites to Alberic, perhaps while he was still in Antioch. The legate

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provided the first line so that the reader may more easily find the passage in Chabot's rather difficult edition.

[13] For more on the complicated reasons for Ralph's deposition, see Bernard Hamilton, "Ralph of Domfront, Patriarch of Antioch (1135-40)," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* XVIII (1984), pp. 1-21.

[14] "Cui synodo interfuit maximus Armeniorum pontifex, imo omnium episcoporum Cappadociae, Mediae, Persidis, et utriusque Armeniae princeps, et doctor eximius, qui Catholicus dicitur." Willermus Tyrensis, "Historia," *RHC*, vol. I, part, I, XV, 18, p. 687; trans. Babcock and Krey, *History of Deeds*, vol.

forced Gregory to accompany him to Jerusalem,[15] and the Greeks he summoned to the council so that they might explain their accusations of heresy. Their response denied the validity of the council, saying, "we will not come, because our emperor is not there."[16] Ignatios and Gregory presented statements of faith, which the council pronounced orthodox. The Latin bishops, however, "demanded from the Armenians and the Syrians oaths that they did not hold in their hearts different doctrines; the Syrians made it with joy, but the Armenians did not agree to this, and they [the Latins] discovered that they were phantasiasts and simoniacs."[17]

Michael's narrative would lead his readers to the startling conclusion that there was no theological barrier to full communion between the Latins and Jacobites. Michael himself knew this was incorrect; only some twenty pages earlier he had solemnly informed his readers that "the Franks were in accord with the Greeks on the duality of the nature [of Christ],"[18] thus at odds with the Jacobites' monophysite theology. Thus Michael's account tarred the Greeks as persecutors, the Armenians as heretics and liars, and the Latins became dupes. Nevertheless Michael, in agreement with William of Tyre, linked the council directly to the papal legate, leaving local Frankish leaders no role. Nor should we ignore that, at least

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II, p. 122. Alberic participated in the consecration of the Temple of the Lord, although it seems to have been used as a church very soon after the crusader conquest.

[15] The only Armenian account of this council survives in a somewhat garbled narrative in Samuel of Ani, a late twelfth-century chronicler, which betrays no sign that Gregory was forced to attend the council. Samuel Kahanats Anetsiots [Samuel of Ani], *Havak'munk' I Grots Patmagrats*, (Ejmiacin, 1893), pp. 122-3; translated in Marie-Félicité Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, (St. Petersburg, 1874-6; reprinted, Amsterdam: APA-Philo Press, 1979), vol. II, p. 457.

[16] "..." Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, p. 626 (inside column); tr. vol. III, XVI, 10, p.256.

[17] "..." Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, p. 626 (inside column); tr. XVI, 10, p. 256.

[18] See the citation above for the full reference.

in Michael's account, the impetus for the council came from the Greeks; Alberic was merely reacting to their accusations of heresy.[19]

Armenians in Rome

Although Michael cast the council of 1141 in a negative and somewhat persecutorial light, the events that followed suggest that at least the Armenians had an equal interest in ecumenical dialogue. Otto of Freising was present in Vertralla for the arrival of Armenian delegates from Gregory III in December, 1145. The German chronicler was impressed by the envoys, astonished that they had come from the "utter East" on a journey lasting a year and a half. Like William of Tyre, he overestimated the power and influence of Gregory III, proclaiming that he had "countless numbers of bishops under him."[20] Although the purpose of their visit was to meet with the pope, Otto suggested that what the Armenians were really interested in was the Byzantine Church. "These reasons [for their coming] were as follows. In the administration of the Eucharistic rite they agree in certain respects with the Greeks, in certain other respects they differ from the Greeks . . . Since they differed in these and in other matters they had chosen the Roman Church as arbiter . . ."[21] Although the Armenians may also have been in Rome to call attention to Edessa, which had fallen to the Turks a year earlier, the concerns Otto recorded remained focused on the ecclesiastical world of the

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[19] A letter from the Armenian patriarch to John II Komnenos has been published, but we do not know what provoked the letter, nor what response it received. Jean Darrouzès, "Trois documents de la controverse gréco-arménienne," *Revue des études byzantines* 48 (1990), pp. 89-153.

[20] Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. Adolf Hofmeister, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, vol. 45, (Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahnani, 1912), VII, 32, p.361; translated in Otto, Bishop of Freising, *The Two Cities, A Chronicle of Universal History to the Year 1146 A. D.*, tr. Charles Christopher Mierow, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), p. 441. This may well be part of western expectations of finding another Christian power in the East other than Byzantium, which manifested itself also in the story of Prester John.

[21] " . . . apud Veterem Aulam aperiunt, quae tales erant: Inter ipsos et Graecos quaedam de ritu sacrificii habitudo est in quibusdam, in aliis vero discrepantia. . . . Pro his et aliis dum inter se dissentirent, Romanam ecclesiam iudicem eligentes consultum veniunt formamque sacrificii iuxta consuetudinem eius sibi tradi deposcunt." Otto, *Chronica*, pp. 361-2; Otto, *Two Cities*, pp. 441-2.

eastern Mediterranean.[22] As in Michael's account of the Jerusalem council of 1141, the Latins are the arbiters, but not the initiators or the focus.

Nerses Šnorhali and the Byzantines

We thus have fleeting references to some sort of contact among the Armenian, Jacobite, Latin and Byzantine churches in the 1140's, but the causes and contexts of these early discussions remain obscure. Beginning in 1165, however, we find a substantial body of textual evidence concerning ecumenical negotiations between the Byzantines and the Armenians and Jacobites.[23] According to a colophon written that year, Nerses Šnorhali, brother of *Katholikos* Gregory III, met in Mamistra the *protostrator* Alexios Axouch, Byzantine governor of Cilicia and nephew-in-law of Manuel I Komnenos. Alexios told Nerses,

> "I had wished for a long time to speak to you about the Scriptures and to study the cause of discord in the one church of Christ." Then having finished that statement he [Nerses] accepted the request with pleasure . . . he wrote our confession of faith and the condition of the church and he gave [it] to the aforesaid pious prince by this design.[24]

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[22] Nerses Šnorhali, the brother of the *Katholikos* Gregory III, composed a poem at approximately the same time as this embassy to the pope, in which he laments the fall of Edessa to Zengi. Speaking as Edessa herself, Nerses addresses Rome, saying "Quickly reach out your hand to me, who lie bound in the house of captivity, and take revenge unforgivingly on the enemy who has taken me prisoner." Theo M. van Lint, "*Lament on Edessa* by Nerses Šnorhali," *East and West in the Crusader States*, vol. II, p. 51. Edessa similarly addresses the other ecclesiastical centers of Christianity, asking Constantinople also for revenge, but only prayers from Jerusalem and Alexandria, while Antioch receives only reproaches for not having aided Edessa.

[23] Several articles have been published discussing these negotiations. Pascal Tekeyan, *Controverses christologiques en Arméno-Cilicie dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle (1165-1198). Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, vol. 124, (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1939); Charles A. Frazee, "The Christian Church in Cilician Armenia: Its Relations with Rome and Constantinople to 1198," *Church History* 45 (1976), pp. 166-84; Boghos Levon Zekiyan, "Un dialogue oecuménique au XIIe siècle: les pourparlers entre le Catholicos St. Nerses Snorhali et le légat impérial Théorianos en vué de l'union des églises arménienne et byzantine," *Actes du XVe congrès international d'études byzantines*, (Athens, 1980), vol. IV, pp. 420-41; Gérard Dédéyan, "Le rôle complémentaire des frères Pahlawuni, Grigor III Catholicos et saint Nersēs Šnorhali Catholicos, dans le rapprochement avec les Latins à l'époque de la chute d'Édesse (c. 1139-1150)," *Revue des études arméniennes* 33 (1992), pp. 237-52;

[24] "եւ այս այր իրրեւ զկորուստսն եւ զխնամատուն յայնժամ եկեալ էր, փեսայ գոլով ինգաւորին եւ պատուով առաջին գոլ հզօնէլազաւրապէն, որ կոչի յունարէն պռոտոսեստոսատոր, որոյ տեսեալ զխոհական առաջնորդն Հայոց, մեծաւ ուրախութեամբ ցնծացաւ յայսո առնելով, եթէ իրաւք տէրունապէս ունէի ի բաղում ժամանակաց հետէ խաւսեալ ընդ ձեզ յաստուածաշունչ գրոց եւ ուսանել զպատճառս պատակտելոյ միոյ

This letter has been preserved in the collection of Nerses' letters. While the colophon suggested that these negotiations developed from the chance meeting of Alexios and Nerses, the initiative came from the emperor Manuel. The letter, however, reveals that the Armenians were also eager for these negotiations; Nerses' statement of faith effectively argued that Armenians and Byzantines shared the same beliefs about the nature of Christ, despite different theological formulations. Nerses stated that Armenians believe "in one nature in Christ, not mixed, as Eutyches argued, but as Cyril of Alexandria who in his books of commentaries, said against Nestorios, that 'The nature of the incarnated Word is one, as the Fathers have said.'"[25] While this may sound firmly monophysitic, Nerses continued to explain that "thus whether it is said, 'one nature from an indissoluble and inseparable union, not from confusion,' or it is said, 'two natures which are unconfused and inalterable, not from division;' both are within the boundaries of orthodoxy."[26] Nerses here argued that traditional monophysite Armenian definition and the Byzantine Chalcedonian position were synonymous.[27]

եկեղեցոյ Քրիստոսի:" Garegin A. Kat'olikos [Hovsepian], *Yishatakarank' Dzeragrats [Collection of Manuscripts]*, (Antelias: Armenian Katholicate of Cilicia Press, 1951), Colophon #187, col. 386; see also Gérard Dédéyan, "Les colophons de manuscrits arméniens comme sources pour l'histoire des Croisades," *The Crusades and their Sources*, ed. John France and William G. Zajac, (Brookfield, Vt: Ashgate, 1998), p. 104.

[25] *Սեմք մի բնութիւն ի Քրիստոս, ոչ շփոթմամբ ըստ Եւտիքեայ, այլ ըստ Կիւղի Աղէքսանդրացւոյ զոր ի գիրս Պարապմանցն ասէ ընդդեմ Նեստորի, եթէ «Մի է բնութիւն Պանին մարմնացելոյ, որպես եւ Հարքն ասացին.* Nerses Shnorhali, *Endhanrakan Tultk' [The Collected Letters]*, (Jerusalem, 1871), p. 96. These letters have been loosely translated into Latin, Joseph Cappalletti, *Sancti Nersetis Clajensis Armeniorum Catholici Opera*, (Venice, 1833), vol. 1, Ep. IV, p. 182. His letter suggests that he had some sort of anti-Armenian treatise in front of him as he wrote, for he refutes specific accusations leveled against the Armenians.

[26] "*Այդ եթէ մի բնութիւնն ասեն անբաժանելի եւ անբաժանելի միաւորութեանն ասի եւ ոչ ասեն շփոթմանն, եւ երկու բնութիւնն ասեն անշփոթ եւ անապականելին եւ ոչ ասեն բաժանման, երկաքանչիւրքն ի սահմանի են ուղղափառութեանն.*" Nerses, *Endhanrakan*, p. 97; Cappalletti, Ep. IV, p. 183.

[27] Hrant Khatchadourian, "The Christology of St. Nerses Shnorhali in Dialogue with Byzantium," *Miscellanea Francescana* 78 (1978), pp. 413-434.

Nerses' letter sparked an epistolary exchange between the Armenian and Manuel that would continue for the next several years. The emperor's reply, dated September 1167, accepted Nerses' confession of faith and urged a meeting between delegates.[28] By the time the emperor's letter had arrived, however, Gregory was dead, and Nerses had succeeded him. The new *katholikos* replied with another statement of faith, and a defense of church practices.[29] Having established a firm basis for negotiations through this volley of letters, Manuel informed Nerses in his next letter of 1170 that he was sending two envoys, a theologian named Theorianos and a Chalcedonian Armenian abbot named John Outman, to discuss unification directly.[30] Nerses' meeting with the two ambassadors produced another letter to Manuel,[31] and an account of the discussion itself, preserved in Greek.[32]

In 1172 the dialogue resumed when Theorianos returned to Cilicia with nine propositions which, if they were accepted by Nerses, would constitute unification. The nine issues include both theological concerns, such as Christological definitions, as well as ritual matters, such as the use of azymite bread in the Eucharist.[33] Nerses died in 1173, before a synod could be held to consider the proposal, but the negotiations were continued by his nephew *katholikos* Gregory IV. In 1179, a synod approved union with the Byzantine church, but the death of Manuel the following year left it a meaningless agreement.[34] In 1193, the Armenian church in Cilicia signed a union with the Latin church that had an enduring

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[28] This letter is preserved only in an Armenian translation. Nerses, *Endhanrakan*, pp. 107-9.

[29] Nerses, *Endhanrakan*, pp. 109-130; Cappaletti, pp. 195-230.

[30] Nerses, *Endhanrakan*, p. 144.

[31] Nerses, *Endhanrakan*, p. 145; Cappaletti, Ep. VII, p. 231-238.

[32] Theorianos, "Disputatio cum Armeniorum Catholico," *Patrologiae Graecae*, ed. J.-P. Migne, (Paris, 1864; reprinted Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1977), vol. 133, pp. 114-298.

[33] Nerses, *Endhanrakan*, p. 155; Cappalletti, Ep. VIII, p. 239-240.

[34] Boghos Levan Zekiyan, "Les relations arméno-byzantines après la mort de St. Nersès Šnorhali," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/4 (1982), pp. 331-7 (Acts of the 16th International Byzantine Congress, Vienna, 1981).

impact on Armenian liturgy and practice, and lasted through various political intrigues until 1375.

We have already discussed Manuel's interest in ecumenical negotiations, but Nerses' motivation is harder to uncover. The Armenian patriarchate had been established in Hromgla,[35] a castle on the Euphrates, which was under the authority of Nur-ad-Din from 1150. Nerses was thus free of direct political pressure from the Byzantines, Armenian lords and even the Latins. The patriarch's response was instead conditioned by internal Armenian expectations. The role of the patriarch had changed dramatically in the eleventh century. With the disappearance of the royal houses and many of the aristocratic families of Armenia, the patriarchate lost its traditional sponsors. The Pahlavuni family had successfully monopolized the office for more than a century in part due to their ability to adapt to rapidly changing political and ecclesiastical circumstances. One of the ways that the Pahlavunis maintained their position was through impressive literary and theological achievement. Gregory II, the first Pahlavuni patriarch, was known in Armenian as "vykaser," that is "the martyrophile," because of his voluminous translations of saints' lives from Greek into Armenian. His father, Gregory Magistros, was one of a group of Armenians known as the "philhellenes;" he wrote letters in ornate Greek and translated Plato into Armenian. Through their intellectual prowess, the Pahlavuni patriarchs cultivated support from the *vardapets*, creating a new power base within the church. Prominent within the Armenian hierarchy and influential within Armenian society, the *vardapets* were teachers and priests who could serve as theologians, ascetics, poets or even prophets. Constituting a clerical rank

[35] Known today as Rumkale, in the past thousand years it has gone by several different names, including Qala'at ar-Rum, Kala Roumaita, or Ranculat. For more on the history and topography of the site, see Hellenkemper, *Burgen*, pp. 51-61; for its position within the greater Euphrates valley, see Anthony Comfort, Catherine Abadie-Reynal and Rifat Ergeç, "Crossing the Euphrates in Antiquity: Zeugma seen from space," *Anatolian Studies* 50 (2000), pp. 99-126.

within the Armenian church with no specific liturgical or ritual duties, the *vardapets* had no parallel in other churches.[36] The Armenian church did not have a strong episcopate; instead the monastery held a prominent place with both church and society, and it was often within monasteries that the *vardapet* worked.[37] Nerses' epithet was Šnorhali, a name that meant "grace-filled." The title referred both to Nerses' divinely-inspired theological knowledge, and also to his education in the monastery of Karmir Vank' (the Red Monastery) on the Black Mountain outside of Antioch, whose graduates often took the title "šnorhali" as a sign of their connection to the monastery, and as a sign of prestige among the *vardapets*.

Nerses' negotiations with the Byzantines were in part a show performed for the *vardapets*; the discussions were held at Hromgla, the patriarchal residence, not in Constantinople or some neutral city. Confronting the Byzantines on an even theological playing field gave Nerses a forum to display his intellectual virtuosity before a home audience. The patriarch's goal, then, was not necessarily to achieve union with the Byzantines, though that might result. Rather it was for Nerses to strengthen his support among the intellectual elite of his church. Rather than promoting union with the Byzantine church, his actions reaffirmed the unique character of the Armenian hierarchy by appealing for support to the one group of clerics who could not be assimilated into a Byzantine structure, the *vardapets*, for they had no parallel position. By holding the negotiations in Hromgla, Nerses emphasized his independence from Byzantium. The crucial judges of the merits of his arguments were not Theorianos or his imperial master, but the gathered *vardapets*, and it was their support Nerses intended to win.

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[36] Robert Thomson, "*Vardapet* in the Early Armenian Church," *Le Muséon* 75 (1962), pp. 367-84.

Jacobite Patriarch Michael and the Quest for Legitimacy

The Jacobites under Patriarch Michael the Syrian also became involved with negotiations with the Byzantines at the same time as the Armenians. Like Nerses, Michael used the negotiations to strengthen his position within his own community, for he had been elected against significant opposition. But the Jacobite patriarch regarded the Byzantine offer of negotiations more of a threat than an opportunity; his relations with the Latins were far friendlier and he joined the ecumenical discussions largely to forestall Manuel from cultivating another more amenable leader to replace him. Michael became the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch in 1166. The bishops who assembled following the death of Patriarch Athanasius put the names of three candidates together and selected the slip containing the name of Michael, at that time the archimandrite of the convent of Mar Barsauma. A group of bishops arrived after this unorthodox election and contested the results, protesting that the election should not have proceeded without them. Other bishops who were unable to attend the election sent messages voicing their preferences. The maphrian of the East and the eastern bishops all gave their support to Michael, and the monks of the desert also indicated their preference for him. Even the bishop of Jerusalem wrote that Michael was one of only two possible candidates the bishops should consider. Faced by this support, those who objected to the election grudgingly accepted Michael as patriarch.

Michael, however, refused to be consecrated until the assembled bishops promised to conduct themselves according to the canons of the fathers, and swore to avoid simony, stopped combining two bishoprics into one, and ceased transferring from one bishopric to another. These demands gave many of the bishops pause, and several wanted to consider

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[37] The prestige of the *vardapets* can be seen in the pages of Matthew of Edessa; his chronicle of political events was frequently leavened with accounts of holy men, almost all of them *vardapets*. In contrast, Matthew hardly ever mentioned bishops, aside from the *katholikos*.

another candidate until Dionysios bar Salibi, bishop of Amida, spoke in favor of the reform of the church. A further controversy erupted over who should consecrate Michael—the maphrian of the East, who had consecrated the two preceding patriarchs, or the head of the council, who was the bishop of Edessa. Finally, it was agreed that the maphrian would impose his hands on Michael while the bishop of Edessa would say the Mass.[38] This narrative, taken from the chronicle of the thirteenth-century Jacobite historian Gregory bar-Hebraeus, was probably based on Michael's own account, and presented his election as supported by the majority of bishops and monks, and as a triumph over simony and ecclesiastical corruption. It is clear, however, that Michael's candidacy was not widely supported, and a significant bloc of ecclesiastics opposed his election. His first years in office, then, were devoted to securing his position against any would-be challengers.

Soon after his election, Michael went on tour, visiting Edessa and the monasteries nearby. The following year he traveled to Cilicia, Antioch, Lattakia, Tyre and then to Jerusalem for Easter. There he met with the Latin patriarch of the city, Amalric of Nesle "and was treated by him with honor."[39] It was perhaps through this meeting that the Jacobites came to join the Latins, Melkites and Armenians as one of the Christian groups who had clergy serving in the Holy Sepulcher.[40] Michael then returned to Antioch, where he visited the Latin patriarch of Antioch Amalric of Limoges, who was in exile outside of the city, while the patriarchal throne was occupied by Athanasius I, the Byzantine patriarch

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[38] Curiously, the portion of Michael the Syrian's chronicle covering his own election is lost. This account survives in Barhebraeus, a thirteenth century Jacobite historian, but his version may well be based on Michael. Gregorius Barhebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, ed. J.-B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy, (Paris, 1874), vol. II, pp. 535-42. French translation in Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, vol. III, XIX, ch. II, pp. 329-330.

[39] Barhebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, vol. II p. 546, French translation in Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, XIX, III, p. 332.

[40] Andrew Palmer, "The History of the Syrian Orthodox in Jerusalem," *Oriens Christianus* 75 (1991), p. 34.

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successfully introduced by Manuel in 1166.[41] Michael was again "welcomed with joy" by the Latin patriarch, and refused to visit Athanasius.[42] He remained in Antioch for a year, perhaps at the invitation of the exiled Latin. Their friendship lasted long after; Amalric invited Michael to attend the third Lateran Council in Rome in 1179, a sign that he considered Michael's theology orthodox and his character worthy. Michael chose not to go, but wrote a treatise against the Albigensians to help the council in its fight against the heresy.[43]

This "Grand Tour" of Syria and Palestine was clearly designed to bolster Michael's shaky position after a contested election. From his perspective, ecumenical visits to Latin prelates gave him further status and ammunition against those who might question the validity of his election. To his detractors, Michael could point to his achievement in gaining a chapel for the Jacobites in the church of the Holy Sepulcher, a privilege his church had never before enjoyed. Only through his unparalleled closeness with the Latin patriarchs was he able to achieve this. In chapter 4, we saw the example of Basil, Jacobite bishop of Edessa, who appealed to the Latin patriarch of Antioch to resolve a dispute with his own patriarch. Michael, then, was not the only one who viewed Latin ecclesiastics as a source of support during conflicts within the Jacobite church. Michael enjoyed a long and esteemed career, earning him the title of "the Great" among the Jacobites.[44] While his reputation

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[41] Albert Failler, "Le patriarche d'Antioche Athanase Ier Manassès (1157-1170)," *Revue des études byzantines* 51 (1993), pp. 63-75.

[42] The anonymous chronicle of 1234 proclaimed that Michael had even been enthroned on the chair of Peter in Antioch's cathedral. Michael, however, makes no such claim for himself. *Anonymi auctoris chronicon*, p. 307; tr. A. Abouna, vol.II, p. 230. See also Bernard Hamilton, "Aimery of Limoges, Latin Patriarch of Antioch (c. 1142-c. 1196) and the Unity of the Churches," *East and West in the Crusader States*, vol. II, ed. Krijnie Ciggaar and Herman Teule, (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1999), pp. 1-12.

[43] Unfortunately, this treatise does not survive. Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, vol. IV, p. 718; tr. vol. III, XX, 7, pp. 377-8.

[44] Dorothea Weltecke, "The World Chronicle of Patriarch Michael the Great (1126-1199): Some Reflections," *Journal of Assyrian Academic Studies* 11 (1997), pp. 6-29.

doubtless was based on his character and role as a theologian and administrator, his closeness to the Latin hierarchy apparently only added to his reputation.

Jacobite and Byzantine Negotiations

While Michael's ecumenical visits to the Latin patriarchs were mutually advantageous and freely entered into, that was not the case when it came to the Jacobite patriarch's interactions with the Byzantines. While he was resident in Antioch, Michael wrote a pamphlet explaining the essentials of his faith, which he wrote in response to "the Greeks," probably a veiled reference to Athanasius I. The recipient of the letter, whoever he was, in turn sent it to the emperor, who then wrote back to Michael.[45] Manuel's motives are clear enough; adding negotiations with the Jacobites to his ongoing negotiations with the Armenians was a logical extension of his interests. Michael's response should be seen within the context of his contested election and subsequent search for support in Edessa, Antioch and Jerusalem. The unique situation, where the Latin, Jacobite and Greek patriarchs of Antioch were all resident in the city or its environs at the same time is not accidental, particularly on Michael's part. The Jacobite patriarch sought Byzantine acknowledgement of his patriarchate to forestall any possible competitors. In 1185, for example, Theodoros, a former student of Michael's, attempted to replace his former teacher as patriarch by offering to unify the Jacobite church with both the Latins and the Greeks if they would recognize him as patriarch. Theodoros received some support from Mesopotamian bishops, but when Michael rallied his adherents, he traveled to Jerusalem and then to Hromgla, and then to Cilicia, trying to find someone who would support him as patriarch.[46] The invasions of

[45] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, vol. II, p. 549; translated in Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, XIX, v, p. 334.

[46] Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 723-4; tr. XXI, I, pp.386-7.

Saladin and his own death shortly thereafter cut short his quest to replace Michael, but the early support of the bishop of Amida, one of the more important Jacobite sees, signaled that Theodoros' claim was taken seriously.[47] Although he did not succeed, he did pose a considerable threat to Michael, and sought validation from Frankish leaders the same way Michael did after his troubled election.

Having sought Byzantine support, Michael was obliged to respond to the emperor's ecumenical interests, and the letter exchange between Michael and Manuel in Antioch soon led to the Jacobites being included in the ongoing negotiations with the Armenians. Theodoros bar Wahbun, the future anti-patriarch, and John, the Jacobite bishop of Kesoun, attended meetings with Nerses and Theorianos, perhaps in 1170.[48] After the negotiations with Nerses in 1172, Theorianos proceeded to meet separately with the Jacobites. At Kesoun, a city formerly ruled by the counts of Edessa but now controlled by Nur-ad-Din, Theorianos met Theodoros, whose knowledge of Greek, Armenian, Arabic and Syriac made him the ideal representative.[49] According to the Greek account, the negotiations were supposed to be held at the monastery of St. Balsamon, where Michael was in residence, but Theodoros advised Theorianos that travel to the monastery was too dangerous, because a local emir was planning to ambush him. Theorianos therefore remained in Kesoun and merely sent a letter to Michael, who sent a reply containing yet another confession of faith. The Byzantine theologian considered the whole of the confession orthodox, except the patriarch's assertion that Christ had only one *hypostasis* (substance) and one *ousia* (nature).

The discussion between Theorianos and Theodoros was recorded in Greek, perhaps as a transcript for Manuel, and was likely the language of negotiation, as we know Theodoros

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[47] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, vol. II, pp. 577-589.
[48] Theorianus, "Disputatio," *PG* 133, col. 295.
[49] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, vol. II, pp. 581-4.

was fluent. Their meeting did not last long; Theorianos refused to negotiate with Theodoros because the Jacobite insisted on introducing Aristotle into a discussion that Theorianos felt should be based on Christian authorities. Theodoros left, and was replaced by John, bishop of Kesoun. John seemed more willing to avoid the subject of Aristotle, and the rest of the discussion was devoted to the problem of Christ's divine and human natures.[50] Michael's excuse that he could not negotiate directly with Theorianos because of unsafe traveling conditions was likely a pretext. We have seen that the Jacobite patriarch traveled freely in Muslim areas when it suited him, and given Nur-ad-Din's healthy respect for Manuel's military might, it is unlikely that he would have molested Theorianos, his official ambassador, or Michael, had he chosen to travel to Kesoun. Michael thus put the negotiations in the hands of Theodoros, allowing the patriarch to claim credit for any positive outcome, but also to deny knowledge of anything that might taint his reputation. These negotiations, however, were far less conclusive than the Byzantine discussions with Nerses, and did not continue after this meeting in Kesoun. We should not dismiss them, however, due to their failure to achieve union. The mere fact of their occurrence is a further sign of Michael's insecurity in his office, and help explain conflicts and arguments within the Jacobite church, as will be discussed later.

Cultural Consequences

While these negotiations had limited ecclesiastical and political results, they engendered considerable confusion within Armenian and Jacobite communities. For

[50] Much of this dialogue is confirmed by Michael. According to him, he did not come to meet Theorianos during his first visit to Nerses in 1170, but sent John of Kesoun in his place. Theorianus came again in 1172; once again Theorianos expressed his desire to meet with the patriarch in person, but again Michael sent someone else, this time Theodoros bar Wahboun. Being a brilliant young scholar himself, Theodoros barraged the envoy with a series of Aristotelian questions, to which to the cowed Byzantine could only reply, "What do we have to do with this pagan Aristotle?" *Chronique*, XIX, v, p. 335.)

Michael and Nerses, these negotiations were both an opportunity and a threat. While some advantages might accrue as a result of the negotiations, simply by discussing union with the Greeks each opened himself up to attack from conservatives within their respective communities. To ignore the Byzantine overture was equally dangerous, for this left an opening for others to challenge their leadership. We have already discussed Theodoros' attempt to challenge Michael; his hopes of becoming patriarch may well have their origin in his role in the negotiations with the Byzantines.

Participating in the negotiations could also pose a political threat. In 1173, an Arabic-speaking scribe named Alexander went to Nur-ad-Din and accused Nerses, Michael and Athanasius, the Jacobite bishop of Edessa, of having received letters from Manuel concerning a plot to deliver control of Edessa over to the Byzantines. Athanasius along with a number of Armenians and other citizens of Edessa was brought to Aleppo to be questioned. Following an investigation, the Muslim authorities determined that Alexander was an impostor, and the charges were dismissed.[51] His accusations involving the exchange of letters between Manuel and the leaders of the Armenian and Jacobite churches suggest, however, that he misinterpreted the ecclesiastical negotiations for something more directly political. Nur-ad-Din would not have been entirely wrong to be suspicious of these negotiations. They were certainly intended to strengthen Manuel's position in Cilicia and northern Syria, and had they resulted as Manuel hoped, they would have been a threat to Nur-ad-Din's own power.

Edessa is the city where the effects of the negotiations on the lower clergy and laity were mostly clearly manifest. The city held the largest concentrated population of both Armenians and Jacobites, and it was the cultural and religious center of northern Syria.

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[51] Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, vol. IV, pp. 703-4; tr. vol. III, XIX, x, pp. 351-2.

Because it was not the seat of either patriarch, Edessa was often the center of separatist movements and challenges to patriarchal power. Thus it was in Edessa around the same time as the negotiations were going on that a group of Armenian *vardapets*, led by a man named Ausig, accused Nerses of simony. It was an odd accusation, given that Nerses achieved his rank through nepotism rather than through bribery. Rather, the accusations were a reflection of fears that Nerses was in effect "selling" the katholicate to the Byzantines--part of the Byzantine proposal for union would have placed the authority to choose the *katholikos* in the hands of the emperor. Perhaps Ausig and his supporters even believed that Nerses was receiving financial support from the Byzantines in return for his cooperation in uniting the churches.

Yet Ausig and his followers were more than just disgruntled Armenian conservatives. The Ausigites, as Michael called them, were soon expelled from the city, and their fate indicates the confusion that reigned in Armenian religious communities as a consequence of the Byzantine negotiations. Two of the Ausigite priests came to the Jacobites in obvious confusion, complaining about Nerses and the Christological debates that had engulfed the Armenian church. In particular, they were baffled by the writings of the Alexandrian bishops and saints, Athanasios and Cyril, who sometimes seemed to argue for the double nature of Christ, and sometimes for a single nature. Michael kindly explicated the true meaning of the holy fathers. Having cleared this matter up, Michael wrote to Nerses and gained the two priests readmittance to the Armenian church. Other Ausigites remained alienated from the Armenian church; some ended up in Jacobite monasteries; while their leader Ausig traveled to Antioch and joined the Byzantine church.[52] The extremity of these

[52] Although Michael's depiction of the theologically-confused Armenians draws on a Jacobite stereotype, I believe the Syriac account reflected authentic bewilderment among certain Armenians. Michel le Syrien, *Chronique*, vol. IV, p. 704, tr. vol. III, XIX, x, p. 351; xi, pp. 353-4.

choices—full monophysite or fully Chalcedonian—reveals the confusion engendered by the reanimation of Christological issues that had long seemed settled within the Armenian church.

The possibility of union with the Byzantine church also provoked a flurry of Jacobite theological treatises. Dionysios Bar-Salibi, bishop of Amida and supporter of Michael the Patriarch, wrote a treatise against the Melkites sometime before he died in 1171. Dionysios was born in Melitene, became bishop of Marash in the 1150's and later was transferred to the see of Amida, an important city in Mesopotamia. While he never lived under Frankish or Byzantine rule, as a Jacobite bishop he likely was familiar with both and traveled to their lands for synods and to visit other Jacobite clergy. But his polemic was not directed at Manuel, or even at the local Melkite hierarchy. Rather it was provoked by a letter Dionysios had received from a Jacobite monk, Rabban Isho, who had apparently become a Melkite. The treatise was a personal rebuttal of Isho's claims; in it Dionysios referred to a more general polemic he wrote against the Melkites as well as to another letter to Isho, both of which apparently are lost.[53] Although we do not have Rabban Isho's letter, Dionysios quoted portions of it in his response. The issues Dionysios addressed were ritual concerns, such as whether to use one finger or two to bless oneself, and whether the blessing should be done from left to right or vice versa, and how the Trisagion should be said. Dionysios also responded to cosmological questions, such as why the Greeks flourish while the Syrians are few in number.

A consistent part of Isho's argument was that certain beliefs, such as in the dual nature of Christ, were widespread throughout the Christian world, while monophysite belief

[53] Dionysius bar-Salibi, "Against the Melchites," *Woodbrooke Studies*, ed. A. Mingana, (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1927), vol. I, tr. p. 46.

was limited to the Jacobites, the Armenians and curiously " a few Franks."[54] This frequent citing of the majority of the Christian world was a product of the widened horizons of Levantine Christians in the wake of the crusades. Dionysios' response is telling: "Further how did you assert that all Christians believe in two natures except us and the Armenians, while the Egyptians, Nubians, Abyssinians, the majority of the Indians, and the country of Libya which in the time of Dioscorus was composed of one thousand and five hundred parishes, accept the faith of the great Severus."[55] The Jacobite bishop's view of the Christian world was very much that of Late Antiquity, where a monophysite Christian could survey the oecumene and proudly note that a large part of the ancient and populous eastern world—Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia—believed in the single nature of Christ. Yet this was not the world that Isho saw. His list of Chalcedonian peoples showed that he was looking westward, to the groups of "barbarians" converted after the Late Antique period—the Russians, the Hungarians and Alans.

A large part of Dionysios' treatise debated the value of ecumenicism. Isho argued not that the Christian churches should be unified, but that no one church could claim a monopoly on divine truth. Isho claimed "We (Syrians) constitute ourselves the judges of Christians; some of them we make pagans and some others heretics. What would be better for us to do would be to live in peace with everybody."[56] According to Dionysios, however, one must choose one side or the other. "I will ask you a question: Are the Syrians right or are they wrong? And if they are right, why do you not reject the Chalcedonians?"[57] The compromise that Isho suggested was only worth arguing about in a world where the

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[54] Dionysius, "Against the Melchites," p. 26.

[55] "... ..." Dionysius, "Against the Melchites," p. 69, tr. p. 26.

[56] "... ..." Dionysius, "Against the Melchites," p. 72, tr. p. 31.

attraction of other churches had become a palpable threat. The danger that Dionysios feared did not come from the casual, daily contact that prevailed throughout the Levant as we have seen, but from a new situation where the fundamental markers between "us" and "them" were challenged by the ecumenical negotiations. Dionysios' reaction to Isho's irenic proposal revealed his need to maintain and even widen the chasm between Jacobites and Melkites.[58] Dionysios often used Byzantine intolerance to justify Jacobite rejection of ecumenicism. "I warned them several times to let everyone go his own way without recrimination against his neighbour of another creed, but they showed no desire to heed our advice. I wrote chapters concerning their habits, and also on the fact that we should be permitted to enter their churches, and be allowed to pray for them and they for us . . ."[59] Nor did Dionysios accept Isho's suggestion that Byzantine attitudes towards Jacobites had changed. "Now repair in your imagination to the city of their pride. You will see that it contains a mosque for the Mohammedans, but it has no church for the Syrians and the Armenians."[60] Dionysios thus effectively argued that Byzantine ecumenicism was a sham, and the very idea of *rapprochement* meaningless.

Dionysios' discussion of the Franks made clear that his objections and arguments against the Melkites were not theologically based, but were a response to Byzantine ecumenical pressure. Although the Franks shared with the Byzantines belief in the two natures of Christ, Dionysios was careful not to include the Latins in his denunciations. He pointed out that the Byzantines have no right to call themselves "Romans," because that

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[57] Dionysius, "Against the Melchites," p. 27.

[58] Dionysius does support diversity of a certain sort in Christianity. "The fact that people of every country pray differently, and have something which singles them out from the rest, goes to their credit, first because it indicates the wealth of their devotions and spiritual vigor, and secondly because it is a sign of the incomprehensibility of God who wishes to be glorified in different ways in different countries and towns." Dionysius, "Against the Melchites," p. 34.

[59] Dionysius, "Against the Melchites," p. 90, tr. p. 61.

[60] Dionysius, "Against the Melchites," p. 28.

name truly belonged to the Franks.[61] Their correct name is "Hellene," that is "pagan," and their claim of divine authority for the emperor he dismissed, saying no man can serve two masters.[62] In any event, "the true kingdom is that which is established in orderliness and virtue, as in the times of Constantine, Theodosius and the rest of the Roman kings, that is to say the kings of the Franks."[63]

Both Dionysios and Rabban Isho reflect the confusion and anxiety within Jacobite communities, resulting from Byzantine ecumenical pressure. Rabban Isho's conversion to the Melkites, along with his rhetoric of accommodation, suggest a world where religious identity was not firmly fixed. Isho was no Apostle Paul, radically transformed from one belief to another, but someone who viewed the division of the churches as somewhat unimportant. At the same time, Isho felt some anxiety over the issue of Christ's nature. Why did the rest of the world believe there were two while the Jacobites insisted there was only one? Could they be wrong? Dionysios believed that unless Jacobites clung to their sectarian identity, divine truth would be lost. It is the very idea of a negotiated union with another church, particularly with the church of Constantinople, which sharpened and defined the boundaries between the Christian communities of the Levant.

Dionysios' treatise against the Armenians was also a reaction to Manuel's ambitious ecclesiastical plans. His polemic against the Armenians denigrated their theological understanding, portraying them as a people easily led astray by heresy. Such a portrayal was intended to drain away the prestige of the negotiations, in which the Armenians played such a prominent role. Theodoros and John of Kesoun had gone to the *katholikos'* residence at

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[61] Herman Teule, "*It is not right to call ourselves Orthodox and the others heretics*: ecumenical attitudes in the Jacobite Church in the time of the Crusades," *East and West in the Crusader States*, vol. II, eds. Krijnie Ciggaar and Herman Teule, (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1999), p. 13-28.

[62] Dionysius, "Against the Melchites," p. 74; tr. p. 39.

[63] Dionysius, "Against the Melchites," p. 74; tr. p. 39. Dionysius also states that "God removed the kingdom from the Franks and bestowed it on the Greeks." p. 48.

Hromgla for parts of the negotiations, and Dionysios thought it was inappropriate for the Jacobites to be playing second fiddle to the Armenians. While theoretically the Armenian and Jacobite churches shared a common theology and were in communion, in fact the two communities differed considerably. The period of Armenian domination of Cilicia and northern Syria in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries placed a considerable number of Jacobite communities under Armenian rule, a condition many did not find comfortable. According to Barhebraeus, Dionysios himself had once been kidnapped by the Armenians when he was bishop of Marash.[64]

The title of Dionysios' work is "Book against the heresy of the Phantasiasts from which sprang the creed of the Armenians, and against the practices in which the latter indulge."[65] From the outset, Dionysios linked the Armenians to the heretical Phantasiasts, who were docetic Christians who taught that Christ's humanity was imaginary and that he was entirely divine.[66] A few pages into the text, however, Dionysios admitted that this heresy was no longer widespread among the Armenians.[67] Throughout the Jacobite's polemic, however, he portrayed the Armenians as easily led into heresy, confused on a number of important Christological points from which they are frequently rescued by the Jacobites. The ignorance of the Armenians extended even to their origins--"it is we who have enlightened your authors and revealed to them that you are descended from Togarma, who was from the children of Japhet."[68] The Armenians also followed a number of "Jewish" habits, such as sacrificing a lamb at Passover and placing its blood on their

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[64] Gregory Abu'l Faraj Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, tr. Ernest A. Wallis Budge, (London: Oxford University Press), vol. I, p. 283.

[65] Dionysius bar-Salibi, "Against the Armenians," *Woodbrooke Studies*, ed. A. Mingana, (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1931), vol. IV, p. 7.

[66] For its earlier history among the Armenians, see Jean Meyendorff, "L'Aphartodocétisme en Arménie: Un imbroglio doctrinal et politique," *Revue des études arméniennes* 23 (1992), pp. 27-37.

[67] Dionysius, "Against the Armenians," pp. 8-9.

[68] Dionysius, "Against the Armenians," p. 54.

thresholds, a further sign of their ecclesiastical ignorance.[69] Despite his apparent contempt for their intellectual capabilities, Dionysios' arguments against the Armenians also had a great deal less animus behind them. He insulted them as a people far less than he had the Melkites, and was more willing to compromise. In a discussion about when the day began (whether at sundown or sunrise), Dionysios suggests that "if the Armenians and the Greeks concede our point of view that the night precedes the day, as we believe with the Doctors, there will be no harm on our part to concede also their point of view and eat in the evening of Saturday the same food that we eat in the day of Friday."[70] Dionysios' argument thus had little to do with the Armenians *per se*, and much more to do with the Byzantines. His reaction may be a sign of the prestige negotiations were bringing to the Armenians. Thus Manuel's ecumenical efforts both brought conflict within religious communities, and also heightened tensions between Jacobites and Armenians.

Conclusion

The pilgrim who arrived in Bethlehem in the late 1160's or early 1170's would find at the birthplace of Jesus the mosaics of the early ecumenical councils, and think them to be clear statements of irenic ecumenicism. Yet what the images foreboded was the disappearance of the 'archaic tolerance' of the earlier period. As Manuel I Komnenos sought to subordinate the Christian churches of the Levant to the church of Constantinople, local Christian clergy, both Jacobite and Armenian, began to see their daily interactions with other Christians in a new light. The very idea that they might somehow be joined with the Melkites, not the Melkite church that was in the same part of town as their church, but the Melkite church, the church of Constantinople, of the emperor, the same that was in

[69] Dionysius, "Against the Armenians," p. 32.

countless stories of oppression and martyrdom, made it an urgent task to emphasize what was distinct and separate about the Jacobite or Armenian church. Yet at the same time, there was an undeniable urge on an individual level to engage in these negotiations, for they brought prestige from outside the traditional system. It was therefore necessary to ensure that imperial favor was not too thinly spread, diluting its efficacy. Furthermore, it offered the opportunity for rival leaders within religious communities to challenge those in power, as the example of Theodoros demonstrated. The negotiations thus engendered competition both within church hierarchies, and between the Armenian and Jacobite churches corporately. The reconsideration of the late antique Christological debates stirred further anxiety as long-held divine truths were subjected to scrutiny and compromise. Priests, monks, and even laity began to question the place of traditional doctrines in their beliefs and identity. The conversion of Rabban Isho and some of the Ausigites was the result. The increased emphasis on maintaining sectarian identity foreshadowed the changed religious atmosphere of the thirteenth century, when confessional standing began to affect the legal status of Christians under Frankish rule. The mosaics of Bethlehem were a monument, not only to Manuel's aspirations of Christian unity under Byzantine leadership, but also to the impossibility of that dream under any circumstances.

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[70] Dionysius, "Against the Armenians," pp. 19-20.

Conclusion

In the prophecy of Hovhannes Kozern, with which we began this study, the Frankish dominion over the Holy Land was predicted to be a temporary triumph, a foreshadowing of the final conquests of the Roman emperor, who would reconquer all lands from the Muslims. Matthew's repeated use of different versions of this prophecy, given voice by a number of different *vardapets,* was a testament to its power to express the anxieties, frustrations and hopes of Armenian communities. Following the fall of Edessa to Zengi in 1144, Nerses Šnorhali wrote a lament for the fallen city. After pages of poetry describing the destruction of the city and the horrors perpetrated on its citizenry, Nerses turned to the old prophecies, and crafted from them a new vision of the future of the Levant, in which Edessa would be redeemed from its devastation. For the Muslims who had desolated the fair city of Edessa, Nerses had this warning: "Anew the Frank is on the move/ Unfathomable numbers of horsemen and foot-soldiers."[1] The new crusaders would conquer the whole of the Islamic world from Cairo to Khorasan, razing Mecca to the ground, and throwing the Ka'aba into the Red Sea, but "for all Christians they will be the rescuers from the unbelievers."[2] Nerses was far more clear than Matthew as to what would follow the final triumph of Christianity:

> The realm of the Christians will be rebuilt,
> filled with endless, immeasurable goodness,
> It will be abundant in fruits

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[1] "*Քրիստոնէից հանուրց ազգն, փրկիչ լինին յանապրինաց:*" Nerses Klaietsi, *Élégy sur la prise d'Edesse,* ed. D. J. Zohrab, (Paris: Librairie orientale de Dondey-Dupré père et fils, 1878); translated in p. 100.

[2] "*Շինին աշխարհ քրիստոնէից, անչափ անքան բարեաւք լիցած.*
Լինի առատ պտուղ պաղմանց, աճրմանց և ամէն պտղաբերութեանց:
Մարդիք ցնծան զուարճացած, յուսել լցնիլ ըն պարարած." Nerses Klaietsi, *Élégy,* tr. van Lint, "Lament," p. 101.

Of many seeds and of all kinds of fertility.
People will be rejoicing in merriment,
Fattened by eating and drinking.

Yet this new world that the Franks would create would be more than an earthly paradise—it would be the heavenly Jerusalem.

There under the veil
The holy priests, initiated
In the divine temple,
Will stand to offer mass.
There will rest the flocks of sheep
The troops of innocent and holy lambs.
You will eat the bread, descended from heaven.
You will dwell in green places,
You will drink from the waters of rest,
From the immortal holy sources
And from the celestial clouds,
From the apostles, the prophets
From the holy words of the doctors
Dancing together with the celestial ones,
Signing with the angels
About the thrice holy Seraphs,
Songs to the Trinity on High.[3]

Unlike the prophecies recorded by Matthew, this vision had no place for the Byzantine emperor. Despite the power of Manuel I Komnenos, and his ambition to achieve much of what Nerses described, the Armenian placed the crown of future victory on the head of the Franks. Nerses probably knew that the Second Crusade was being planned as he wrote; a group of Armenian bishops was with Pope Eugene III when he issued the crusading bull—

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[3] "Մեզ ի՛ ներքոյ վարագուրաց, սուրբ քահանայք խորհրդազգեաց
Աստուածայնոյ ուխտանաց, գոլ արդեւիշ պաշտպագաց:
Մեզ մանկտիք հաւտք ոչխարաց, դասքը անմեղք եւ սուրբ գառանց
Ըմպիցեմք զարիւն պատճառ կենաց, ուտիցեմք զերկնից իջեալըն Հաց
Բնակիցեմք ի վայրըս դալարաց, սնանիցեմք առ ջուրըս Հանգըստաց,
Յանմահական սուրբ աղբերաց, եւ ի յամպոցն երկնաստեղաց
Յառաքելոց մարգարէից, ի սուրբ բանից վարդապետաց:
Պարակցելոց երկնաւորաց, ձայնիւ Հրնչէք ենք Հրեշտակաց,

Nerses may even have been one of them. But the failure of the crusade to live up to Nerses' predictions did not render the vision meaningless. It was a sign of the profound shift in the shape of the world as the Armenian communities of the Levant constructed it. Gone was the looming figure of the emperor, both menacing in his power yet comforting in the unity he brought. By the end of the century, the Armenian ruler of Cilicia would turn to the Hohenstaufen emperors of Italy and Germany for their crown, rather than to the *basileus* in Constantinople.

The impact the Franks had on local Christian communities from northern Syria to southern Palestine has been depicted in quite different ways, from the nineteenth century image of a colonial utopia, to twentieth century interpretations of decline and oppression. Perhaps the least recognized image, yet fundamental to all, was the imposition of modern ideas of religious identity. While boundaries between different religious communities did exist, they were permeable and elastic markers that allowed for a variety of religious encounters. The importance of traditional church hierarchies enforced a certain communal identity as Latin, Armenian or Jacobite, but other identities existed side-by-side. Adherents of the cults of Barsauma or Sabas might find shared meaning formed by regular religious devotions to the saint, while those Franks who admired the asceticism and learning of the Armenian *vardapets* might find closer identification with the Armenian elites who served as their patrons, as Baldwin of Marash did. It was only at the end of the twelfth century, with the Byzantine negotiations for ecclesiastical unity, the conquests of Saladin, and the development of a new thirteenth-century Mediterranean world that the boundaries between religious communities become solid, traversable only through formal acts of conversion.

Չերէք սրբեան ըն սրտիբէից, երրորդութեանն երգս ի բարձանց:" Nerses Klaietsi, *Élégy* tr. van Lint, "Lament," p. 103.

In a world of fluid identity, arguments of segregation are hard to sustain on a social level. On an institutional level, little evidence supports claims for an 'apartheid' society in the Levant. While discrepancies of power existed, they operated on an informal level and were never codified into Frankish law. Unlike other frontier societies, such as Spain and eastern Europe, separate law codes were not linked to confessional and ethnic status. All inhabitants of the Latin East lived under the same law codes and attended the same courts of jurisprudence. Indeed, by the thirteenth century the Armenian communities of Cilicia had put aside the older law texts of Mxit'ar Gosh and adopted the Frankish *Assises of Antioch* for themselves.

The social and cultural characteristics of the Latin Levant call for the development of a new model of social interaction, which I have provisionally called "rough tolerance," signifying an unpolished, uneasy, contingent social relationship that was motivated largely by practical concerns. Episodes of violence, abuse and oppression were ignored or temporarily employed as rhetorical rallying points, but to the advantage of locals and Latins alike, such events never accumulated enough weight to become a part of communal identity or to separate "us" from "them." Local communities had too much economic and religious capital invested in the continuation of Frankish rule to jeopardize it by undermining Latin authority. Frankish authorities, for their part, recognized their own reliance on local Christians who fought in their armies, managed their estates, served as translators and prayed alongside them in many of their churches. Melisende and other Frankish monarchs strategically supported prestigious monasteries such as Mar Saba, and even sought to end conflicts within local churches, such as the controversy between the Jacobite bishop of Edessa and his patriarch in the 1120's. The model of "rough tolerance" developed here may well be applicable to other 'frontier' societies, especially those with Christian minorities, such

as Spain, Sicily, Greece and eastern Europe. Discussions of interactions between conquerors and local populations in these parts of the medieval world may suffer from the same imbalance of over-reliance on Latin documents, and a smoothing over of the differences between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Nerses' apocalyptic Franks stand beside a gallery of other images of the rulers of the Levant; they appear as tolerant Christians, as men of greed, as pious worshippers of local saints, as oppressors and as military leaders. Frankish sources provide a similar survey of local Christians as heretics, grateful citizens, opportunists, pious leaders or betrayers. Yet one image never held the symbolic weight of a stereotype; each had meaning only within circumscribed contexts. Discussions of the eventual defeat of the Frankish principalities of the Levant can no longer depend on the argument that their fall was caused by their lack of roots in their new home, or because of the antagonism of the people they ruled. Like the constantly changing image of 'Frank' and 'local,' a new vision of the Latin East must be crafted.

Figure 1. Map, Cilicia and Northern Syria. (Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, p. 364)

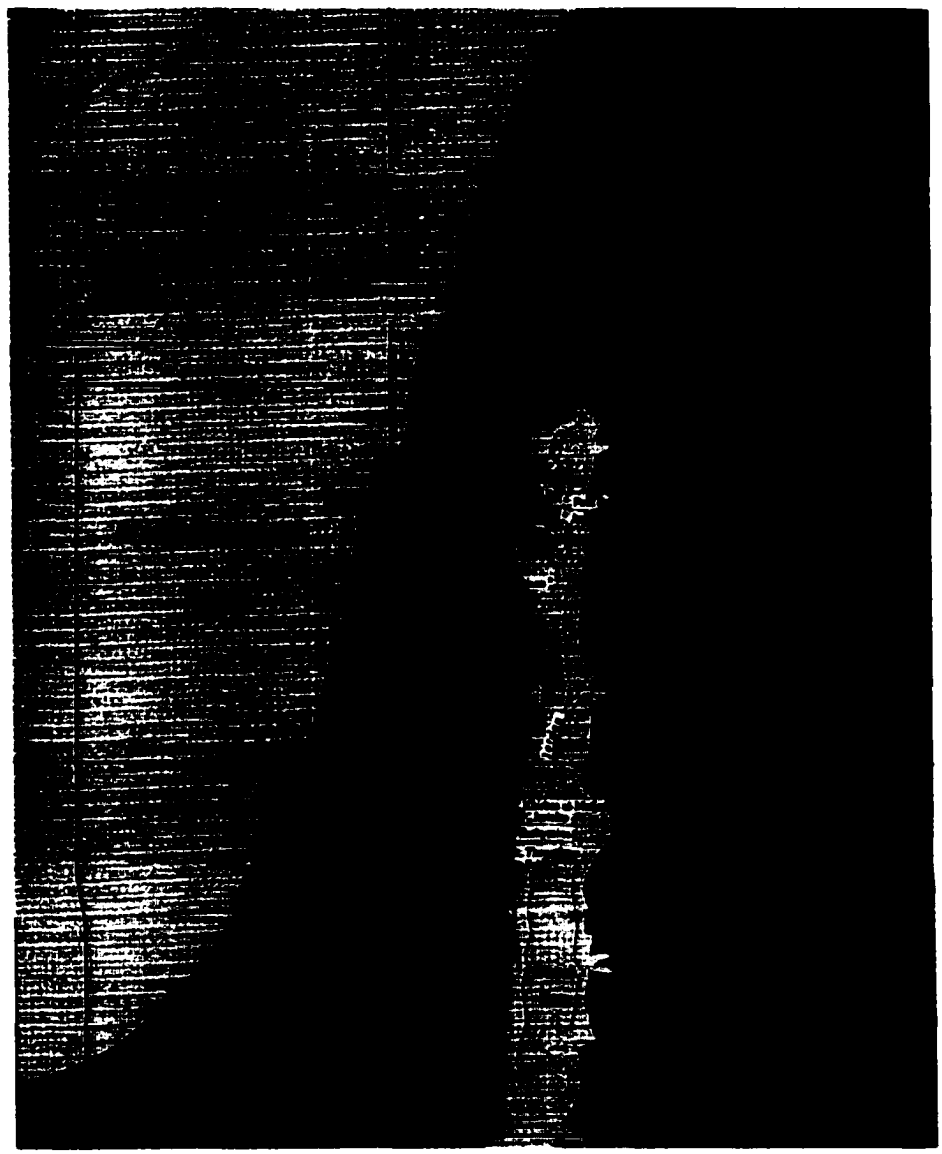

Figure 2. Map, Palastine during the 12th century. (Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, p. 607.)

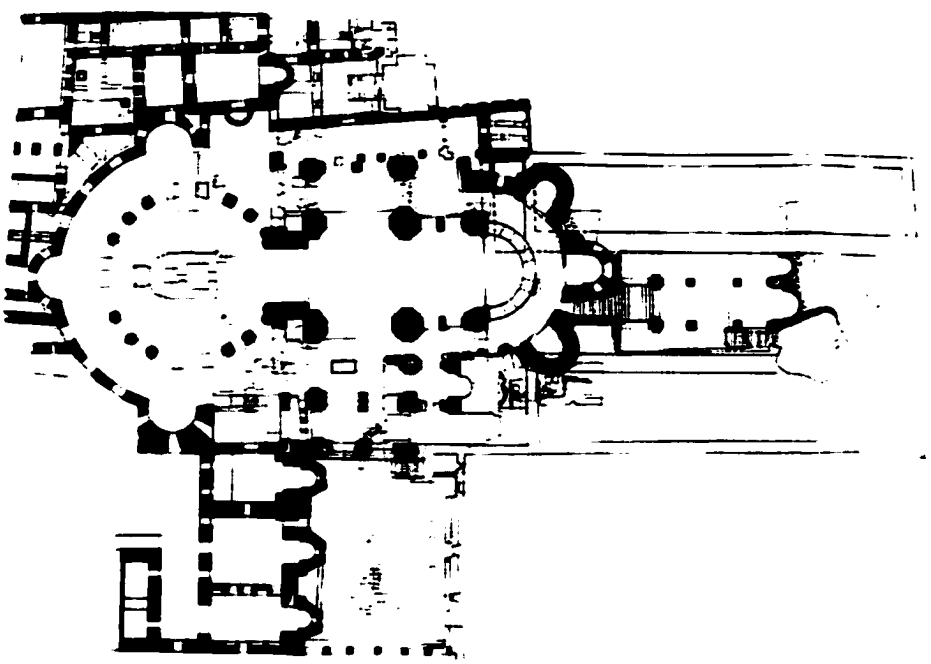

Figure 3. Plan, Church of the Holy Sepulcher, Jerusalem. (Folda, *Art of the Crusaders*, p. 178)

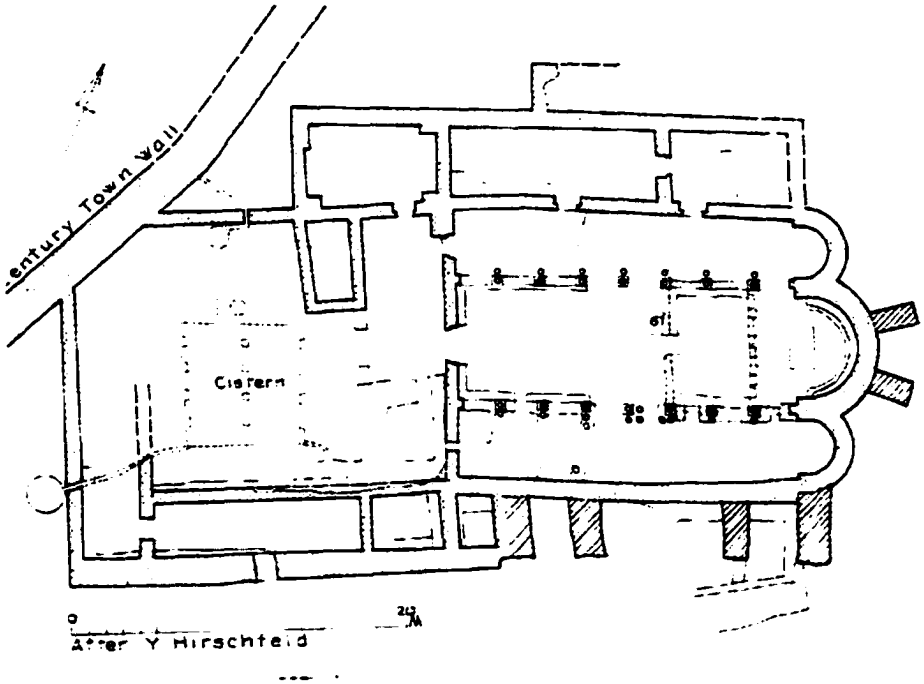

Figure 4. Plan, St. George, Tiberias. (Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem,* Vol. 2, p. 357)

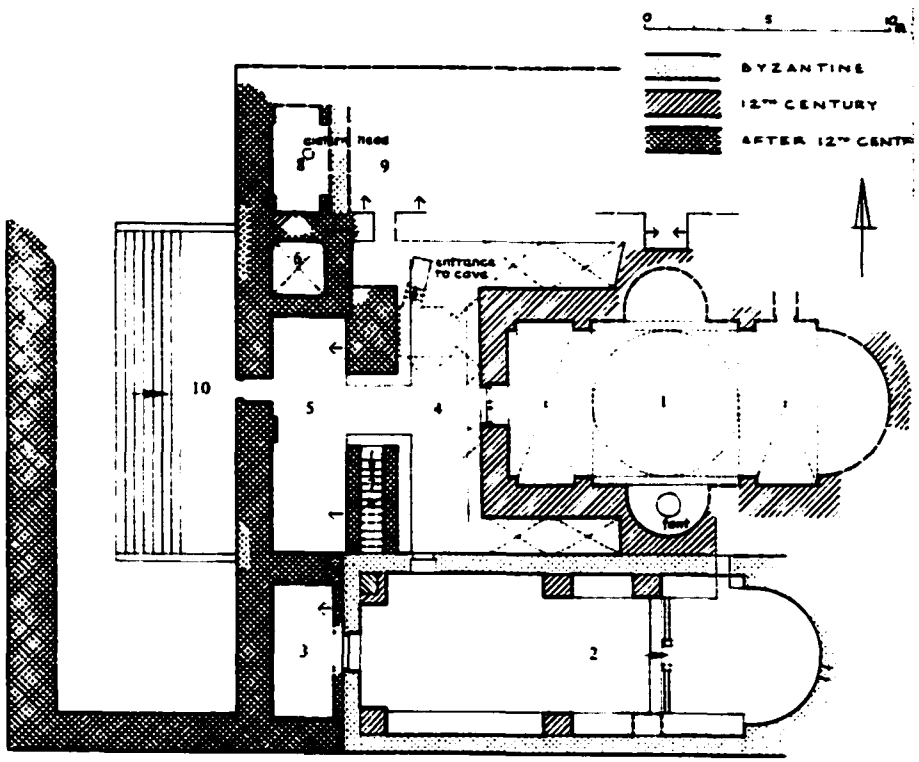

Figure 5. Plan, Church of al-Khidr, at-Taiyiba. (Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Vol. 2. p. 343.

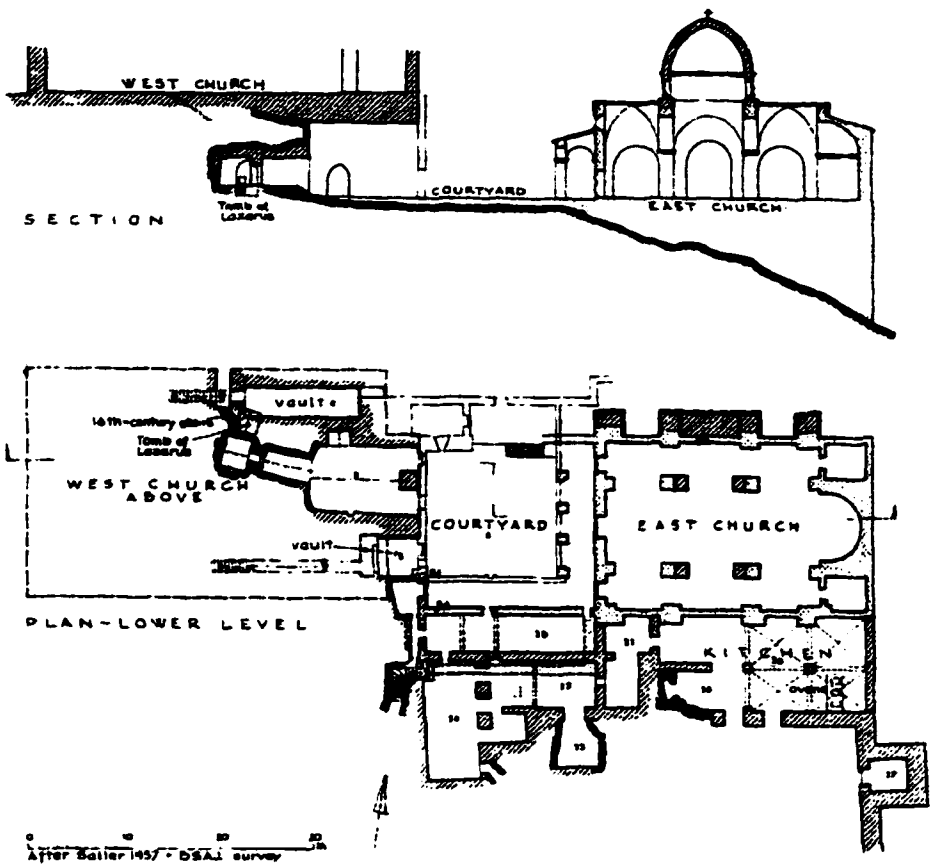

Figure 6. Section and Plan, Abbey of St. Lazarus, Bethany. (Pringle, *Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Vol. 1, p. 128)

Appendix

The attitude of the crusaders towards Armenians must largely be explored through the five chroniclers who provide us with the most reliable accounts of the First Crusade—Raymond of Aguilers, the anonymous author of *Gesta*, Ralph of Caen, Fulcher of Chartres, and Albert of Aachen.

Raymond of Aguilers

Raymond of Aguilers, who accompanied Raymond of St. Gilles as his chaplain, spared hardly a word for any of the Christian communities or individuals he must have encountered in the course of the crusade, except to vituperatively malign the Byzantine Emperor Alexios Komnenos.[1] He vaguely mentioned that "the Turks, in absence of servants, had used Armenians and Greeks as such and had given wives to them,"[2] and again noticed that

> Yaghi Siyan, fleeing by one of the gates, was seized and decapitated by Armenian peasants, who in turn presented us with his head. Yaghi Siyan, who had decapitated many Armenians, was, I think because of God's inexpressible will, in turn beheaded by their countrymen.[3]

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[1] Following the siege of Nicaea, Raymond comments that the people "would ever revile him and call him traitor." Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, tr. John Hugh Hill and Laurita L. Hill, (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1968), p. 27; "Alexius itaque accepta civitate tantam semper ei maledicat, et proclamet eum proditorem." *Le ‹‹Liber›› de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. John Hugh and Laurita L. Hill, (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1969), p. 44.

[2] "Quoniam Turci ante annos .xiiii Antiochię obtinuerant, atque Armenos iuvenes, et Graecos, quasi pro penuria domesticorum tractavertant, et uxores eis dederant." Raymond, *Historia*, p. 64; tr. Hill, *Historia*, p. 46.

[3] "Gracianus autem egressus per posterulam quandam, ab Armeniis rusticis captus, et decapitatus, atque capud eius nobis allatum est. Quod ineffabili Dei dispositione actum credo, ut qui multis eius dem generis homines decollari fecerat, ad eisdem truncaretur." Raymond, *Historia*, p. 66; tr. Hill, *Historia*, p. 48.

Raymond's narrative was perhaps the most eschatologically-minded of all the chronicles, and the Armenians entered the narrative only when he saw their role in God's mighty plan for the crusaders, as above. Given the paucity of references to Armenians or Syrians in Raymond's chronicle, God had very little use for local Christians. Raymond never mentioned Tancred and Baldwin's expedition to Cilicia, and passed over Baldwin's elevation to authority in Edessa with a single sentence.

The Anonymous Gesta

The anonymous author of the *Gesta*, on the other hand, found the Armenians to be a subject worthy of inclusion in his narrative. The *Gesta* was a less ideologically-driven account than Raymond's, and generally recorded events with far less editorial comment. The author noted that the Armenian and Syrian inhabitants of Antioch came out repeatedly to mingle with the crusaders, and "craftily investigated our condition and strength and reported everything to those excommunicated who were shut up in the city. But after the Turks had been informed of our condition, they began little by little to go out from the city and to harass our pilgrims . . ."[4] It is not clear if the "excommunicates" were to be identified with the Turks, but the author suggested that the information gathered by the Armenians reached the them. The implied criticism became more explicit when the author recounted the profiteering in which some Armenians were engaged:

> When the Armenians and Syrians, however, saw that our men were returning empty-handed, they counseled together and went away through the

[4] "Illi vero ingeniose investigabant nostrum esse nostramque qualitatem referebantque omnia his excommunicatis qui in urbe inclusi [erant]. Postquam vero Turci fuerunt edocti de nostra essentia, ceperunt paulatim de urbe exire nostrosque peregrinos undique erant latentes obviam nobis ad mare et ad montanam." Louis Bréhier (ed.), *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade*, vol. 4, *Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen age*, (Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, Éditeur, 1924), p. 68. Partially translated into English by August C. Krey, *The First Crusade*, (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1958), pp. 125-6. For a short discussion of the nature of the narrative, see Jeanette M. A. Beer, *Narrative Conventions of Truth in the Middle Ages*, (Geneva: Librairie Droz S. A, 1981), pp. 23-34.

> mountains and places of which they had previous knowledge, making subtle inquiry and buying grain and other bodily sustenance. This they brought to the camp, in which hunger was great beyond measure, and they sold a single ass-load for eight *perpre,* which is worth one hundred and twenty *solidi* of *denarii.* There, indeed, many of our men died because they did not have the means wherewith to buy at such a dear price.[5]

Not only did the Armenians profit from the sufferings of the starving crusaders, they also smuggled food into Antioch past the crusader siege for the Turks.[6] Although the anonymous author did not use the rhetorical language other crusade chroniclers might have, such as labeling the Armenians as "perfidious" or "traitorous," his opinion of the Armenians was hardly favorable.

The author of the *Gesta* did, however, show some sympathy for the Armenians and acknowledge their assistance. He noted that the Armenians fought with the Turkish forces at Antioch, but acknowledged that they may well have been forced to fight.[7] The Armenians actively aided the crusaders by killing Turks after they had been defeated in battle by the Franks.[8] However, even these examples of Armenian-crusader co-operation hardly show much enthusiasm or respect for the Armenians. The Armenians did not fight side by side with the Crusaders, but killed off the already weakened and defeated Turks.

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[5] "Videntes autem Hermenii et Suriani quod nostri penitus vacui rediissent, consiliati in unum abibant per montanas et prescita loca, subtiliter inquirentes et ementes frumentum et corporea alimenta que ad hostem deferebant, in qua erat fames immensa, et vendebant onius unius asini VIII purpuratis, qui appreciabantur CXX solidis denarirum. Ibi quidem sunt mortui multi ex nostris non habentes pretium unde tam carum emere potuissent." Bréhier (ed.), *Histoire anonyme,* p. 76; Krey, *First Crusade,* p. 136.

[6] Bréhier (ed.), *Histoire anonyme,* p. 98.

[7] "Pluvie telorum et sagittarum tegebant polum et claritatem diei; mulieres christiane urbis veniebant ad muri fenestras, spectantes misera fata Turcorum et occulte plaudebant manibus; Hermenii et Surani jussu majorum Turcorum inviti seu spontanei sagittas jaciebant foras as nos." Bréhier (ed.), *Histoire anonyme,* pp. 92-4.

[8] Bréhier (ed.), *Histoire anonyme,* pp. 86, 156-8.

Ralph of Caen

Ralph of Caen, a knight who fought alongside Tancred, similarly had relatively little to say about the Armenians, but saw them in a far more positive light. In Ralph's view, the Armenians were the freedom-fighters of the Levant, whose devotion to their Christianity did not allow them to live under the yoke of the Turks. Such virtue contrasted with the pusillanimous Greeks, who remained as servants to the infidels.[9] Ralph's interest in the Armenians allows him to go so far as to give one a name, Ursinus, and a considerable speech concerning his liberation of the Cilician city of Adana.[10] A second Armenian plays an instrumental role in liberating Antioch from the Turks. He was a rich merchant, who converted to Islam for reasons of convenience and commerce. During the crusader siege of Antioch, the emir seized the store of grain he had been hoarding for the use of his large family. Ralph then put into the mouth of this Armenian a heart-rending monologue, bemoaning this cruel fate that struck his family. The merchant then decided to have his revenge by betraying the city to Bohemund.[11] Even as apostate Christians, the Armenians fought Turkish tyranny. They were sympathetic characters, similar to the crusaders themselves.

Fulcher of Chartres

The last two chronicles, those of Fulcher of Chartres and Albert of Aachen, contain far more information about Armenians. Fulcher of Chartres was Baldwin of Boulogne's chaplain, and remained a member of his household during his conquest of Taurus in Cilicia

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[9] "Ea namque tempestate Turics dominari contigerat, Graecis famulari, Armenis montium arduitate tueri libertatem." Radulfus Cadomensis, "Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana," *Receuil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. III, xxxiii, p.630. Translated in M. Guizot, *Collection des mèmoires relatifs a l'histoire de France*, (Paris: J.-L.-J. Brière, Libraire, 1825), p. 72.

[10] Radulphus, *Gesta Tancredi*, XL, pp. 634-636.

and through two and a half years as the ruler of Armenian-dominated Edessa. He displayed a complex view of the Armenians. He recorded the enthusiasm with which some Armenians welcomed the crusaders, such as the Armenian population of Tell Bashir.[12] He expressed sympathy for the Christian inhabitants of Antioch, mourning

> how many Christians in the city, Greeks, Syrians, and Armenians, did the Turks kill in rage had how many heads did they hurl over the walls with *petrariae* and *fundibula* in view of the Franks. This grieved our men very much. The Turks hated these Christians, for they feared that somehow the latter might assist the Franks against a Turkish attack.[13]

Yet Fulcher also sourly comments that at the siege of Antioch, which he did not directly witness, that "nothing was brought in from the Armenians of the outlying areas, yet they often acted to our detriment."[14] Fulcher also included in the first recension of his work[15] a letter written by the crusading princes to Pope Urban II from Antioch, in which they declare "we have subdued the Turks and the pagan; but the heretics, Greeks and Armenians, Syrians and Jacobites, we have not been able to overcome." The letter requested that the pope to move his seat to Antioch, where Peter was first bishop, and "eradicate and destroy by your strength and our strength all heresies of whatever kind."[16] This attitude,

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[11] Radulphus, *Gesta Tancredi*, LXII-LXVI, pp. 651-655.

[12] Fulcher Carnotensis, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer, (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätbuchhandlung, 1913), pp. 208-9, 212; translated in *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, tr. Frances Rita Ryan, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), p. 89, 91.

[13] "heu! Quam multos de Christianis, Graecis, Syris, Armenis, qui in urbe conversabantur, Turci rabie permoti occidebant, et cum petrariis et fundabulis suis capita occisorum, Francis cernentiblus extra muros eiiciebant; qua de re gens nostra valde tristabatur. Odio quidem Christianos illos habentes timebant, ne forte Francos quoquomodo de damno suo suo praemunirent." Fulcher, *Historia*, pp. 221, Ryan, *History*, p. 94.

[14] ". . nec ab externis provinciae Armenis quicquam adlatum est, saepe tamen ipsi ad laedendum nostros procedebant." Fulcher, *Historia*, p. 230, Ryan, *History*, p. 98.

[15] See Harold Fink's introduction of Ryan, *History* for the different versions of Fulcher's work, pp. 18-24. Fink suggests that the work was brought to an end at this point to help Bohemund must support for his crusade against Byzantium in 1106.

[16] "nos enim Turocs et paganos expugnavimus, haereticos autem, Graecos et Armenos, Syros Jacobitasque expugnare nequivimus. Mandamus igitur et remandamus tibi, carissimo patri nostri, ut tu pater et caput ad tuae paternitatis locum venias, et qui beati Petris es vicarius, in cathedra eius sedeas et nos filios tuos in omnibus recte agendi oboedientes habeas et omnes haereses, cuiuscumque generis sint, tua auctoritate et nostra virtute eradices et destrucas." Fulcher, *Historia*, I, XXIV, 14, p. 264, Ryan, *History*, p. 111.

however, maybe part of a propaganda campaign directed at western Europe in 1106, when Bohemund was planning a new crusade against Byzantium, and thus did not accurately reflect the attitudes prevalent during the First Crusade.[17]

Albert of Aachen

Albert of Aachen's chronicle, the *Historia Hierosolymitana*,[18] is perhaps the most difficult source to analyze. The abundance of details and events Albert provided about the First Crusade is unfortunately accompanied by a dearth of context about the work. Even the author's name and identity are in doubt. Albert was identified as the author in a single thirteenth-century manuscript,[19] where he was entitled a canon of Aachen. The only Albert on the lists of existing canons in Aachen, however, held office from 1185 to 1192, which placed him well after the date of the oldest manuscript of 1158.[20] Albert's value as a historical source has often been questioned. The nineteenth-century German historian Heinrich von Sybel, in a stinging reply to Bernhard Kugler's article, "Peter der Eremite und Albert von Aachen," contemptuously dismissed Albert, asserting that he was "inadmissible and useless as a historical source" and "in general it counts as little as a historical source as the *Niblelungenlied* or the *Iliad*."[21] Sybel had earlier pointed out Albert's numerous historical inconsistencies, for example, placing Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois and Eustace of

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[17] Ryan, *History*, pp. 21-2.

[18] Albertus Aquensis, "Historia Hierosolymitana," *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades; Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. IV, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1879). Hereafter as Albert, *Historia*.

[19] Hessische Landes-und-Hochschulbibliotek, Darmstadt, #102, originally from St. James of Liège. See Peter Knoch, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen*, (Stuttgart: Ernst Klegg Verlag, 1966), pp. 15-16, and Andre Alden Beaumont, Jr, "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa," in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays*, ed. Louis J. Paetow, (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co, 1928), p. 103.

[20] Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa," p. 103; Auguste Molinier, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1494)*, (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1902), vol. II, p. 286. Claude Cahen suggests that Albert may be identified with an Albert at the Church of St. Mary in Aix in 1108. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, p. 12.

Boulogne both in Constantinople and at Nicaea during the first days of the siege of the latter city.[22] Kugler's rebuttal to this historigraphical calumny came five years later in his book on Albert of Aachen in which he argued that Albert relied on a lost Lotharingian account of the First Crusade, composed by a companion of Godfrey of Bouillon.[23] This argument was never entirely embraced by crusader historians. Nor have more recent attempts to discover Albert's sources succeeded; recent studies have discounted the idea, for example, that Albert used the *Chanson d'Antioche* as a source.[24] As many have noted of Albert, his chronicle combines both an abundance of details and a certain legendary character, particularly when discussing Godfrey of Bouillon. This led Claude Cahen to suggest that the chronicle combines two separate accounts, one by someone who had traveled to the Near East, and another by someone who had not.[25] For the 1960's, reviving Kugler's argument, Peter Knoch suggested that both Albert and William of Tyre were using a third source, perhaps the so-called "Lorraine Chronicle."[26]

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[21] Heinrich von Sybel, "Nachwort," in *Historische Zeitschrift* 44 (1880), p. 43. Sybel was the editor of the *Zeitschrift* at the time. For a brief discussion of this historigraphical dispute, see Molinier, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France des origines aux guerres d'Italie*, vol. II, p. 286.

[22] Heinrich von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, (Düsseldorf, 1841), p. 78, translated in *History and Literature of the Crusades*, tr. Lady Duff Gordon, (London: Chapman & Hall, 1861), p. 213.

[23] Bernhard Kugler, *Albert von Aachen*, (Stuttgart: Druck und Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1885), pp. 9-12 and elsewhere.

[24] Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, *La Chanson d'Antioche*, (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Guethner, 1978), vol. II, pp. 148-170.

[25] Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord*, pp. 12-16. Cahen proposed a slightly new version of this theory, see "A Propos Albert d'Aix et de Richard le Pèlerin," *Moyen Age* 96 (1990), pp. 31-33. Albert states at the beginning of his account, that though he greatly desired it, he never traveled to the Holy Land. "Saepe accensus desiderio ejusdem expeditionis, et faciendae illic orationis, dum feverem, sed minime ob diversa impedimenta intentioni meae effectus daretur, temerario ausu decrevi saltem ex his aliqua memoriae commendare quae auditu et relatione nota fierent ab his qui praesentes affuisent: ut vel sic non in otio, sed quasi in via, si non corpore, tota mente et anima consocius esse elaborarem." Albertus Aquensis, *Historia*, I, i, p. 271.

[26] Knoch points out that William clearly has access to many of the same stories as Albert, yet does not share Albert's language or phrasing. Additionally, William does not use any of the same stories of Albert after the First Crusade, even though Albert's chronicle continues to 1119. This suggests that William was not using Albert, but the same third source that Albert used. Knoch, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen*, pp. 29-63. Edbury and Rowe accept this as possible explanation, but reserve judgement. Peter W. Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 44-58. Susan B. Edgington's article on Albert is the clearest exposition of

The information Albert provided about Edessa exceeds any other contemporary chronicler, even that which is found in the accounts of Matthew of Edessa and Fulcher of Chartres, both of whom lived through the crusader conquest of northern Syria. While Albert's account cannot always be tested for its accuracy, the topographic and historical details ring true. Indeed, the fact that other chroniclers show such little interest in the events Albert records suggest that Albert's chronicle reflects at least a basic veracity. Other chroniclers view these events as ephemeral; mere asides in the grander narrative of the liberation of Jerusalem. Albert's attention to these details implies that the information came originally from someone who experienced them first-hand and valued them accordingly. Albert offered the greatest sympathy for and interest in the Armenians of all the crusader chronicles. Individuals emerged with names, the organization of communities was explored with curiosity. Albert further showed his Armenian interests by calling Edessa "Rohas," which is much closer to the name its Armenian and Syrian inhabitants called it than the archaizing "Edessa" preferred by other crusader chroniclers.[27]

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current historiographic thought about Albert. Edgington, "Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de Geste*," in *The Crusades and their Sources*, eds. John France and Wiliam G. Zajac, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 23-38.

[27] Syrians called the city "Rouha" while the Armenians called it "Urha."

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